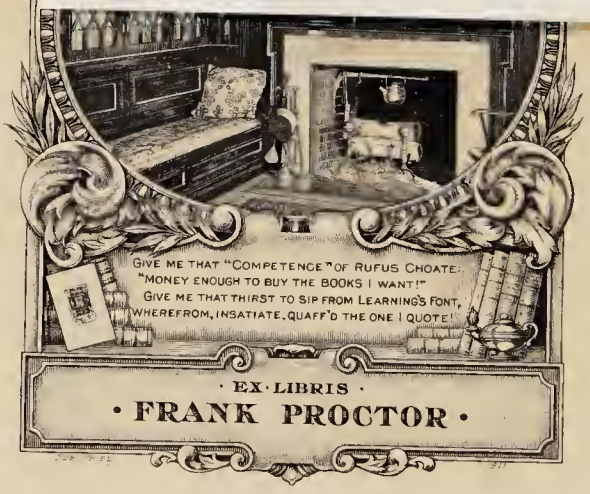
NUNC COGNOSCO EX PARTE

TRENT UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY




Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2019 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation

https://archive.org/details/indianwarsofnewe0003sylv

INDIAN WARS OF NEW ENGLAND

BY

HERBERT MILTON SYLVESTER

THREE VOLUMES

VOL. III.



BOSTON
W. B. CLARKE COMPANY
MCMX

E82. S98 v.3

Copyright, 1910, by Herbert M. Sylvester

Done at The Everett Press, Boston

SUB-TITLES

Queen Anne's War

Lovewell's War
(Seven Years' War)

Governor Shirley's War
(Known as The Spanish or Five Years' War; War of the Austrian Succession; King George's War)

French and Indian War

80181

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR

IN Europe the war which became known in America as Queen Anne's was designated, with some degree of appropriateness, "The War of the Spanish Succession." In New England it had not attained any marked character as a cause to be maintained until the spring of that year which followed the accession of the English queen, when the depredations on the part of the French and Indians began upon the eastern New England frontier, to overlap New Hampshire, in 1704, with the massacre and destruction of Deerfield, after which the pendulum of Indian savagery swung thitherward, through the years that marked the duration of this war, with intermittent disaster to the settlers of the Connecticut Valley.

An examination into the causes of this war is historically interesting and instructive.

Charles II., of the House of Austria and monarch of Spain, was dead. By his will he had declared the Duke of Anjou, the second son of the French dauphin, the sole heir to the Spanish monarchy. He is better known in history as Philip V., of the House of Bourbon. Charles II. had made ample provision for the succession; for, in the event of Anjou's death without issue, or his inheritance of the Crown of France, the Spanish throne was to go to the Duc

de Berri. The latter failing issue, then to the Archduke Charles. The Duke of Savoy and his posterity were the residuary legatees of fortune, being the last possibility named in this munificent legacy. And, as in his last breath he was inclined to exact some consideration for taking himself out of the way of those who were to come after him, he played matchmaker, suggesting the union of Anjou with one of the archduchess group.

William III., one of the shrewdest diplomats of his time, was a thorn in the flesh of the Catholic princes, and the best hated by the powers of any of the European rulers, unless it might have been his near contemporary, the Bearnais Henry. That he had not shared the fate of Henry II. was not for lack of plots, but for the better reason that they invariably failed. Originally crowned by a coalition, he became later the head of a kingdom of discontents, so that he seemed to have more than his share of intrigue, conspiracy, and war. It was his good fortune to emerge from his kingly perplexities unscathed, to the equal discomfiture of his enemies, to arouse a still deeper resentment, which resolved itself, finally, into an avowed hatred.

The face of Europe was strewn with numerous small powers actuated by religious jealousies and schemes for territorial aggrandizement. War was a common occupation, in the common game of which William III. came to assume the major influence of umpire-general, whose activities were mostly ex-

erted to preserve a balance of power; to accomplish which, he hesitated neither at the invasion of private rights nor princely privileges; to whom the vivisection of a kingdom was an after-dinner diversion.

The ambition of the French Louis was to obtain for some member of his family the succession of the Spanish Crown. He had selected the second son of the French dauphin, and to the Marquis d'Harcourt was given the task of cajoling Charles II. to his point of view, supported by the Pope, who, as well, was a creature of the French king. D'Harcourt was established at the Spanish Court, and, with the assistance of the Spanish Cardinal, he accomplished his diplomatic errand most successfully.

With the acceptance of the provisions of the imperial testament by those who had been most active in its creation, the provisions of which were in direct contravention of the Treaty of Ryswick — by which compact it was agreed that the Spanish succession should go to the Archduke Charles, of Austria — and the departure of Anjou to Spain, Louis XIV. found himself in a position to dictate to Europe. William III., fully aware of the French duplicity, swallowed his chagrin, but the Popish princes of Europe were not so successful. While they were protesting their dissatisfaction, Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, had entered into an alliance with France and Spain upon the condition that Philip V. of Spain should espouse the duke's

youngest daughter without dowry, and some other stipulations of personal preference to Savoy.

But William III. was not done with France. He had nipped in the bud the revolutionary efforts of Sir James Montague, in 1689, founded upon the defunct interests of James II. He had balked the French assassin, Dumont, in 1692; later, the attempt of Harris, in 1695; and again he was to pit the prowess of the English against the arms of France. In 1701 England had thrown the gage of battle into the face of France. So far, the fortunes of war had been with the English king. He had defeated James II. on the banks of the Boyne in 1690; he had ferreted out the conspiracy of Rockwood, Cranborne, and Lowick, who were in the employ of the exiled Stuart as paid assassins.

But William III. was not to fall at the hands of his enemies; for, as he was riding to Hampton Palace, February 21, 1702, from Kensington, his horse stumbled and fell, throwing the king heavily, so that his collar-bone was fractured. Patched up by his surgeons, he died a month later, March 8.

At Versailles the Court was openly showing its delight, openly exultant, for that which the emissaries of Stuart and Maintenon had not been able to accomplish by plots and treacheries had been brought about by a mysterious Providence. His enemies everywhere reviled his memory.[1]

[1]Smollet (*History of England*, vol. vii., p. 346) says, in a

But these were trivialities for Anne of Denmark, who, at the age of thirty-eight, became the successor of William III.; who, with Marlborough on land and Rooke on the sea, Blenheim and Gibraltar, more than maintained the prestige of her predecessor.

Without going more deeply into the happenings incident to these contentions between England and France, over-seas, the bearings of which may seem but remotely connected with the savage conflict that surged against the eastern frontiers of New England two years after the death of the Spanish Charles, which may be said to be chargeable upon these sanguinary diversions, one finds of absorbing interest the following of the events that lead one back and forth across the four great rivers of New England, up to the Treaty of Utrecht, April 11, 1713.

Through all these blood-stained dissensions in America, as in Europe, the influence of Rome was subtly pregnant with savage atrocity. As the Spanish succession came to Philip v. by Popish connivance, by the same means not only must the

note: "In their hours of debauch they drunk to the health of Sorrel, meaning the horse that fell with the king; and under the appellation of the little gentleman in velvet, they toasted the mole that raised the hill over which the horse had stumbled: as the beast had formerly belonged to Sir John Fenwick, they insinuated that William's fate was a judgment on him for his cruelty to that gentleman; and a Latin epigram was written on the occasion."

interests of the Catholic adherents be protected, but they must be extended and reënforced by the destruction of opposing interests; and the devastation of New England was one.

Louis XIV. was to be a factor in the shaping of the life of one nation, at least. Saturated with vanity and the cumulative arrogance that is born of the gratification of an inordinate ambition, he was not averse to courting a disastrous war with his neighbor across the English Channel; and so he had given to William III. the deadly insult of acknowledging the son of James II. as the rightful King of England. Louis had not given up his dream of the conquest of New England, his chief reliance being upon his Abenake allies. This was the brilliant scheme which the Peace of Ryswick had put in abeyance temporarily. He had entertained two plans, both of which had in view the reduction and capture of Boston. D'Iberville was of the opinion that with a thousand Canadians, four hundred regular troops, and an equal number of savages, a successful winter campaign against the chief city of Massachusetts Colony would be inaugurated. But D'Iberville was no less a dreamer than his master. Even St. Castin regarded the scheme as feasible; and he went so far as to draw up a plan for an attack on Boston, with an estimate of the munitions and supplies needed to prosecute the enterprise. St. Castin's acquaintance with the English must have been of the most casual sort, and

wholly commercial; yet his suggestions is of interest.[1]

The Governor of Acadia was for neutrality, but to the English Council at Boston the matter did not seem of sufficient importance to require any consideration of the suggestions of Brouillian; and it is of interest to note that the Acadian governor could not refrain from touching upon the controversy that has ever been a bone of contention,—the right of fishery along that coast, in which issue the English colonists were not slow to assert a lively interest. Brouillian is not to be credited with

[1] *Mémoire des Sieur d'Iberville sur et Boston et ses dependances*, 1700-01.

The history of Jean St. Vincent, Baron de St. Castin, begins for us with the transfer to Canada of the Carignan Regiment under Marquise de Tracy, in 1665, who were to operate against the Iroquois. With the submission of the savages, this regiment was finally disbanded. The officers, mostly young nobles, were without means. St. Castin was one of these. He was both energetic and romantic, and, refusing a Canadian seignory, he sought the free, adventurous life among the Tarratines of Madockawando, whose domain extended up and down the Penobscot River. Here St. Castin married a daughter of this great sachem, to become, among the tribe of the latter, even more powerful than his father-in-law. In 1667 St. Castin is supposed to have come to Pentagoët, a place of some alleged trading importance, as from time to time it had been in the hands of the English and Dutch, as well as the French. There was a small fort here, which was sometime commanded by St. Castin, as a lieutenant of Sieur de Grandfontaine. St. Castin had a trading-house here; also at Port

any spirit of friendly interest in this particular matter, as his action was instigated by France, with hope that, the proffer being accepted, Acadia would remain unmolested.

The War of Queen Anne found the colonies in a state of unpreparedness. The eastern colonies were not much better off. The attitude of the English toward the Indians was a mingling of ar-

Royal. The first English interference with St. Castin was by Col. Thomas Dongan, Governor of New York, who served on the former a notice to quit the Penobscot territory. He had some trouble with M. Perrot at Port Royal, and, later, with the Pemaquid agents of the English, over a cargo of wine that came from Boston in the *Jane;* but through Barillon, the French ambassador at the English Court, the wines were returned. The Treaty of Breda disposed of the pretensions of Palmer and West, the government agents at Pemaquid. When James II. took the English throne, in 1685, Sir Edmund Andros became Governor of New England (1686). He came to Boston in December of that year, and in the summer of 1688 was at Pemaquid. While here he went to Pentagoët in the *Rose*, where in St. Castin's absence he raided the latter's house, although the English and French were at peace.

In the following August there was a collision between the English and the Indians on Royal's River, North Yarmouth, which was no doubt looked upon by St. Castin with some spirit of contentment. The atrocities committed by the Abenake have been laid at the door of St. Castin, when they should have been charged directly upon the Jesuits. Biard was on the Penobscot as early as 1612; Le Jeune at Quebec in 1634; L'Allemants, the Bigots, La Chasse, Ralé, Thury, and later L'Auverjait and others, were urging their propa-

rogance and indifference, while through the Jesuits the French were masters of the situation.

Events were crowding not swiftly, but with a most disastrous certainty, and the malignants of the cowl and the hood were not least among the influences that were to reënact upon the English settler the horrors of Schenectady.

Ralé's virulent enmity to religious freedom was

ganda upon the savage, the gist of which was that the English settler was a heretic, and his extirpation would be the most acceptable service the savages could render to God.

Williamson scores St. Castin for breaking his word with Captain Davis (Fort Loyal, May 20, 1690). The assumption of Williamson falls to the ground, as the authority for his statement concerning St. Castin's alleged treachery at Fort Loyal is wholly lacking. Williamson, taking Captain Davis's account, assumes St. Castin to have had command of this expedition, which was despatched direct from Quebec, under Portneuf, for the express purpose of destroying the Maine settlements. Hertel, who had just come in from the destruction of Salmon Falls, assisted Portneuf in the reduction of Fort Loyal. There is no proof even that St. Castin was present. St. Castin was rather a man of peace than a meddler in these butcheries, though he did concert with D'Villeau and D'Iberville in the reduction and destruction of Fort William Henry at Pemaquid; but it is to be noted that the priests Simon and Thury went along to keep the savages up to their revolting atrocities, which on this occasion were omitted.

After this event St. Castin is hardly mentioned. Madockawando died in 1697 or 1698, and it was soon after that St. Castin left Acadia forever. By the French he was accepted as a man of sound understanding; of daring and notable

to the savage Norridgewock the wine of blood, to whom the Peace of Ryswick meant absolutely nothing. Only the withdrawal of Frontenac's support in 1698 had terminated the activities of the adherents of Toxus, Bomazeen, and Assacumbuit. They held to their old habitats along the upper

energy; jealous, intelligent, and solicitous of his personal honor. He was as much, and undoubtedly more, of a gentleman than those who recklessly aspersed him. Even Parkman is hardly to be sustained in his estimate of him. St. Castin had no reason to love the English, and, being a Frenchman, it is to his credit that he did not.

The English historians have found it difficult to hew to the line of truth about St. Castin. If that were their only offence it might be passed over; but, unfortunately, St. Castin is but one of many engaged in the French interest who have been pilloried in reckless misrepresentation.

One finds all that is known of Baron St. Castin among the following annalists: Shea's Charlevoix, vol. iii., p. 294; Booth's Martin's *History of France*, vol. i., p. 263; Bell's Garneau's *Canada*, vol. i., pp. 223, 298, 317; Parkman, *Old Régime in Canada*, pp. 257-261; Sullivan's *History of Maine*, p. 93; Père Paul le Jeune, *Jesuit Relations*, p. 67; *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. ix., pp. 265, note, 477, 642, 658, 731, 918; Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. i., pp. 280, note, 325, 326, 351; vol. ii., p. 126; La Hontan, *Massachusetts French Archives*, vol. iii., pp. 187, 188, 281, 317, 379, 380; vol. iv., p. 113; Murdock's *Nova Scotia*, vol. i., pp. 174, 200, 243, 244; Andros, *Tracts* (Prince Collection), vol. i., pp. 118, 155; vol. ii., pp. 50, 145; vol. iii., p. 35; Williamson, *History of Maine*, vol. i., p. 607, *et supra*, 641; *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., p. 289; Drake's *Indian Wars*, p. 261; Godfrey, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. vii.

waters of the three great rivers of Maine, or beside the inland lakes of New Hampshire. If their life was limited to smaller areas of the Maine wilderness, it was not due so much to the encroachments of the English; for between the close of St. Castin's War and the opening of Queen Anne's War that territory had not undergone any notable change. Its deeps of forest were still the roaming-grounds of the Abenake. Except among the ruins of their old settlements, the cabins of the English had not been extended in any appreciable degree; and yet, hopeful for the security of the future, many of the old settlers had gone back to their clearings, and had built anew the shelters that would enable them to resume their old pursuits along the rivers and fertile intervales that were too enticing to become wholly abandoned. The normal condition of the savage, so far as the English were concerned, was warfare. His word was as unstable as water. His desire for revenge was easily wrought upon by the priests, who could arouse him to religious frenzy or soothe his spirit into the treacherous quiet of a wild animal, to whom the sight of his human prey was a constant irritant.

About this time a peace convention was held at Casco.[1] It followed the declaration of war between

[1] "There was a previous meeting of conciliation between the English and the Abenakis in 1702. The Jesuit Bigot says that the Indians assured him that they had scornfully repelled the

France and England, in May of 1702. The Abenake tribes assumed an attitude which led the English to indulge in a false security, when they should have apprehended graver consequences.

In June following, Governor Dudley, of Massachusetts, called the chief sachems of the Penobscots, the Norridgewocks, Androscoggins, Pequawkets, and Pennacooks[1] to a council at Casco, to which the savages of these various tribes came, bedecked with feathers and daubed with face-paint. The conference was held in a great tent on the promontory which comprised the easterly extremity of Casco Neck. It was a sightly place, overlooking the sunlit harbor, with its reach of blue waters studded with verdurous islands to the furthest horizon. Over the near waters of the bay glided the canoes of the mingled tribes, their tongues tipped with treachery, and the guns with which they had been plentifully supplied by the French loaded with French powder and bullets. There were sixty-five canoes, with two hundred fifty savages arrayed in all the panoply of war. Here were their great sachems, with many of their most redoubtable

overtures of the English, and told them that they would always stand fast by the French (*Relation des Abenakis*, 1702). This is not likely. The Indians probably lied both to the Jesuit and to the English, telling to each what they knew would be most acceptable."

Penhallow, pp. 17, 18 (edition of 1859).

[1] All members of the great Abenake family.

fighters, come hither to meet the paleface sagamore of the Massachusetts Colony. Armed, these savages were, but the paint on their faces was not indicative of hostility. Penhallow speaks of the "variety of colors, which, seemingly, were affable and kind."

In the tent which was set up for the occasion as the place where the governor was to receive his distinguished brethren the conference began. What should have been a benignant occasion was hardly more than a hollow pretension. Sagamore Simmo made the oration for these men of the woods, with the liveliest protestations of peaceable desire. They were honored by the visit of the governor and so many of his council, who had come so far to see them, at a time when it was so easy to misconstrue and misapprehend the lightest motive of one's neighbor. The orator told the governor that, as far as the least breach between them and the English was concerned, the sun was not farther from the earth than the thought.[1]

As a testimony of the good will of their savage constituents, they presented the governor with a

[1] Captain Simmo was conspicuous among the savages as an orator.

Williamson (*History of Maine*, vol. ii., p. 36) gives the reply of this Abenake spokesman to Dudley's desire for a continuation of peaceful relations with the tribes of the Maine province: "We thank you, good brother, for coming so far to talk with us. It is a great favor. The clouds fly and

wampum-belt; and, at the savage orator's suggestion, they went to two heaps of stones which had been thrown together in a former treaty (the orator called them "the Two Brothers"), to which more stones were added by both the English and the savages, in token of a spirit of amity which was supposed to dominate this special occasion.

When they had gone through with this symbolic feature of brotherhood the performance was punctuated with a round of salutes by both the Indians and the English, which concluded this affair of state. Then came the festivities,— the uncouth, savage dance and the shrilling of savage songs,— the extravagant vociferations of a satisfaction which meant nothing more than a rude exuberance of savagery, stripped of its gruesome accompaniment of the victim at the stake and the crackling of the kindling blaze.

The English made the most of this occasion, promising trading-houses; fixing the price of those necessities to which the Indians had become accustomed; and the arrangement for the establishment of a convenient gunsmith. The English were lavish with their gifts, which, it is needless to say, were

darken,— but we will still sing with love the songs of peace. Believe my words,— so far as the sun is above the earth are our thoughts from war, or the least rupture between us."

Drake says, "What became of Capt. Simmo, we have as yet no account."

Book of the Indians, vol. iii., p. 117.

accepted with varied manifestations of approval, having in remembrance that under all this outward show of amiableness there flowed the hidden currents of a vengeful hatred as eternal as the forest within whose dusky recesses were planned its ruddy fruitions.

Fair appearances they were, but to the English borderer the Indian musket betrayed, in its first answering salute, the murderous bullet; and, prone to suspect in all matters of savage comity, their shotted muskets suggested, possibly, a different termination to this farce of Casco, had a body of French and Indians, expected from Canada, arrived in the neighborhood three days earlier.[1] However pregnant of treachery this fact may or may not have been, it is a matter of history that, six weeks later, five hundred French and Indians had made their

[1] "As the treaty was concluded with volleys on both sides, as I said before, the Indians desired the English to fire first, which they readily did, concluding it no other but a compliment; but as soon as the Indians fired, it was observed that their guns were charged with bullets; having contrived (as was afterwards confirmed) to make the English the victims of that day. But Providence so ordered it, as to place their chief Councillors and Sachems in the tent where ours were seated, by which means they could not destroy one without endangering the other! As the English waited some days for Watanummon (the Pigwacket sachem) to complete their Council, it was afterward discovered, that they only tarried for a reinforcement of 200 French and Indians, who in three days after we returned, came among them; having resolved

appearance in the province, and, at once separating into convenient parties, beginning their characteristic ravages about Casco Bay, were following the trails westward to Wells.

To Dudley the Casco conference was eminently satisfactory. His knowledge of the wiles of the savage was limited, but he was not without prudence, confidence, or progressive energy; as is instanced in his pressing upon the Massachusetts government the urgency of the reëstablishment of the old fort at Pemaquid, by which the disputed territory adjacent to the Kennebec and the Penobscot might be restored to the English supremacy.

He was not less decided in his opinion that on the side of the English colonies the war against the interests of France in America should not lack aggressive support. He had to deal with a set of traders, men who would balk at a needed expenditure for war purposes if it stood in the way of their profiting by a connivance with the enemy. The appropriation for the fort was refused.

The Indians had paddled away in the direction

to seize the Governor, Council and gentlemen, and then to sacrifice the inhabitants at pleasure; which probably they might have done, had they not been prevented by an overruling power."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, pp. 17, 18.

Penhallow gives the date of the conference as June 20, 1702. He was present, and his relation of what occurred is that of an eye-witness.

of Pejepscot.[1] A new sense of security had settled over these frontier roofs. The timid had renounced their determination to remove to the westward; but that was in accordance with the plans of the savages. The settler was to be lulled to a sleep, among the pines of Casco, from which there was to be no awakening.

The antagonisms that had pitted England and France against each other gave to New France and the Jesuitized savage sufficient pretense for a renewal of the butchery and rapine against the Protestant settlements of New England. The widening out of the English occupancy of the Abenake wilderness was looked upon at Montreal with undisguised jealousy. Every blockhouse, garrison,

[1] In 1704 Massachusetts and New Hampshire despatched a small party of scouts as far east as old Pejepscot (Brunswick). From Peter Rogers, of Newbury, one of the company, we have it that there were some "twenty or thirty men" in this expedition. It was in the winter season, so they made the journey on snow-shoes to Rocamoco, or Jay Point, now Canton.

McKeen, *MS. Lecture.*

Wheeler, *History of Brunswick*, p. 52.

This is possibly the same expedition, as led by Colonel Hilton, which Belknap places in the winter of 1705. Penhallow mentions this march into the country of the Abenake; also the destruction by Hilton of a deserted Indian village and a Jesuit chapel, though Belknap makes the number of men under Hilton as two hundred fifty.

Vide post, p. 81.

or fort built by the English was a menace to the foothold of the French in the New World, the Jesuit especially. At Norridgewock and Pentagoët, Ralé and Thury taught the same old dogmas against the English heretic; and their savage converts had kept the peace only upon compulsion. His animosities had been nourished by the priests of these missions, including that of Bigot on the Kennebec,[1] which, though of lesser importance, was no less active in keeping alive the hatreds of the aborigines, who were not unlike a pack of bloodthirsty hounds whose only restraint was the leash of unconcerted purpose, allied to the neutral position of Frontenac.[2]

In the years that followed the Peace of Ryswick, down to 1704, the eastern frontier had not developed any marked expansion, having reference to the occupancy by the English of the hitherto unoccupied wilderness. The earlier settlements had been reoccupied, and the relation of the English toward the Indians was more one of forbearance than of

[1] Père Gabriel Dreuillettes was the first Jesuit priest to carry on a systematic work of converting the Abenake on the Kennebec River (1646). His parish among the Canibas was known as the Mission of the Assumption. The notorious Biart (Biard) was here earlier, but his advent among the Canibas was more that of an explorer than a teacher of the propaganda of the Church. Dreuillettes' labors at this mission covered a period of about ten years.

Maine Hist. Coll., Second Series, vol. ii.

[2] Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 143.

neighborly intimacy. The atrocities of St. Castin's War were not readily forgotten, and were the theme of many a fireside chat, which — and not without some basis of reason — was colored with a somber questioning of the future. The countering influences of Jesuit and Protestant, controlling, as it were, the fate of empires, as one or the other predominated in the councils of these two great nations, were pregnant with threats of political upheaval which might possibly bring the savages upon the settlements, to enact over again the butcheries and the devastations of the decade that, in 1688, followed the raid on the cabin of Thomas Purchas on the New Meadows River.

Maine was still an unbroken forest, dotted with lakes and interlaced with leaping streams that fed the four outlets of its immense watershed. The English had touched only upon its border. The last war had obliterated the improvements of long and arduous years; and the settlers, unable to hold their own against the omnipresent aborigine, had found it impossible to extend his domain beyond the limit established by Cleeve at Casco. Only two forts and a few scattered garrisons were left east of Wells. A few of these were palisaded, containing hardly more than a single family, and these were rarely attacked openly, the habit of the savage being that of a beast of prey that lies in wait for its victim. So the savage accomplished his ends by surprise or treachery; yet, when pushed to the wall,

his courage and indifference to personal harm were no less characteristic.

These cabins of the settlers were a straggling procession of low roofs that were strung along the King's Road,[1] as it came to be known, which ran with the seashore, to merge into the woodland trail beyond Wells. Openings in the woods afforded the fields for their crops and the hirsute pasturage for their meager herds. Lapping against these was the wanton luxuriance of the wilderness. Not far away were the salt marshes, where the settler gathered the winter forage for his cattle; and the sea, the sunlit water, that fed the vision with the suggestion of the illimitable, whose storm-winged spray not infrequently drenched his threshold. A single door; one or two diminutive windows; a huge catted chimney with a top sufficiently capacious so that on a starlit night it held an entire constellation within its rugged rim; a floor of beaten clay; — such was the home that marked the way of humanity along the frontier of this dependency of Massachusetts. They were an ultra-hardy race, of coarser fiber than the Puritan; not wholly illiterate, but nearly so; whose only school was the rough-set experience that

[1] As the settlements grew in importance, the old trails that connected them became well-defined bridle-paths. Later, they became highways, regular thoroughfares. To the main line of travel was given the name of "the King's Highway," or "the King's Road," especially when laid out by the Colonial Commissioners, as they generally were.

iterated the one lesson in its curriculum,— that of how to maintain a precarious existence. There was not so much difference between them and the aborigine, and that was hardly more than racial.

They were fighters, made, not born; while the savage was the opposite; and these were the less important participators in Dudley's conference. Parkman says, "The Indian wars that checked their growth had kept them in a condition more than half barbarous."[1] One of these settlers attending this function was John Wheelright, an old Indian-fighter from Wells, whose knowledge of the savage went deeper than Dudley's. He knew the subterfuges employed by the savages when their intended victims began to get restive before the fatal blow should fall; and he wrote to Governor Dudley, under date of August 4, 1702, in which he cautioned him against placing too much dependence upon the protestations of friendship of a people to whom duplicity and treachery were second nature. He was so thoroughly conversant with the character of the savage that to him this seemed the proper course to pursue.[2]

Subsequent events sustained John Wheelright's judgment. As for himself, he at once solicited the

[1] Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. i., p. 40.

[2] "Wells, Aug. 4, 1702.

"May it Please your Excellency.

"At my hearing of your Excellencys Returne from Eastward to Piscataqua the Last Week, I immediately went thither, to

government for permission to build a garrison-house; probably with a view to its being manned and maintained by the government, as in his letter he had asked for a relay of soldiers for the defence of Wells. But Massachusetts was dilatory, as was her wont, and it was only after some considerable delay that Wheelright was given permission to proceed with the building of the needed defence.

The conference of Casco was held in June, 1702. The savages and the French from Canada had

waite on youre self theire, but your quiet despatche from thence Prevented me of that opertunity, which mackes me bould to give your Excellency the trouble of these lines. Sr: I understand that the Indians at the Eastward Vearey Redily Professed Great fidelity to yourself and the English nation, with Great Promis of Peace and friendship, which Promises So Long as it may stand with theire own interest, I believe they may keep and no Longer, theire teachers Instructing them that theire is no faith to be kept with Hereticks sutch as they account us to be, themselves allso being naturialey deseaitful Like theire Father hom they serve. Indeed, Sir: I Cannot have Charity fro them to believe what they say, I haveing Experienced so mutch of theire horable deseatfullness in the Last war upon many treaties and articles of Peace, so that I cannot but apprehend ourselves that live in these remote Parts of the countrey and being fronteres but to be in Great dainger, and considering the war was Proclaimed with the french, who are not so far from us but that they may without any great diffucalty send out an army against us, eaither with or without the assistance of oure pretended frend Indians. This towne being the nearest to the enemy and the farthest from any help or Relief, we cannot but apprehend

taken a little over a year to prepare for the invasion of the New England border. On August 10, 1703, the blow fell. They had left Canada, a small number of French officers, but when their canoes broke upon the horizon of Casco Bay their aggregate was not less than five hundred hideously painted and thoroughly equipped savages, armed with French muskets, ready to vent upon the settlements of Wells the pent savagery of five years of involuntary restraint.

ourselves to be in Great dainger, and espesialy at this season of the yeare, our occasions Calling us genirely from hom to get our hay and Corne Secured, oure inhabitants doth theirfore Pray, that your Excellency would assist us with sum men, twentie or thirtie, or so many as your Excellency in Wisdom may think fit; my humble Request to your Excellency when at Saco was that you would please to Grant me the Liberty of a Garrison where I now live, which then you Excellency did not resolve. I still Pray for the same with submission, and desire youre Excellency that if I must remove into the middle of the town I must Leave that Little Estate I have to maintain my family with, and Carey a Large family wheire I have but little to maintain them withall. Praying your Excellencys Pardon for these rude lines, I remaine ever to be your Excellenceys most humble servant at all Comands.

JOHN WHEELRIGHT.

To
His Excelency Joseph Dudley Esq.
Captain General and Govenour
in Chief and over the
Province of the Masethusets
Bay in New England &c."

Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 244.

In this raid thirty-nine settlers were killed, or carried into captivity. Of the details of these few days of disaster, Bourne, for all his indefatigable research, finds no particulars attainable. No one seems to have even perpetuated the events of this tragedy in traditions, except that the savages appeared first at the house of Thomas Wells. A new babe had just come to the Wells home, and the husband had gone for some one to nurse the sick woman. The savages entered the cabin, killed the mother and babe, and two other children. When Wells got back he found only the ashes of his cabin. The family of Joseph Sayer, including himself, were butchered; but before they killed Sayer, the savages, with the refinement of cruelty for which they were famous, compelled him to turn the stone upon which the murderous hatchet was being ground to a sharper edge. Sayer was a neighbor of Wells, but the surprise was so complete that none were able to escape.

Stephen Harding built here in Wells about 1700, and his house was used by travelers as an "ordinary." He was a blacksmith by trade, as was his father, Israel, before him. He had garrisoned this house, so that his guests might feel more secure. Near-by, just across the creek, the Indians were wont to pitch their wigwams, where in the summer was a settlement of a dozen savage families. The Indians came and went daily. They mingled among the familiars of the Harding household; and Hard-

ing, being of a genial disposition, attached them to himself by his kindly intercourse with them. He was something of a hunter, and was accustomed to accompany these summer visitants as far as the White Mountains in pursuit of game. He had the wander-lust, and he had familiarized himself with all the woodland trails so that no more expert backwoodsman was to be found to the eastward. He was always in demand as a guide, and when the Massachusetts government planned to send an expedition into the Pequawket country Dudley instructed Captain Samuel Wheelright to attach Harding as a guide, or "pilot." For this reason the French regarded Harding as too valuable a man to be left at large, and a plot for his capture was hatched. The spirit of neighborliness between Harding and the savages who frequented his hostelry was no bar to their intended treachery, and then his capture would deprive the English of the only white man who knew the way to their forest lairs.

Harding was not only a fearless man, of great boldness and personal bravery, but he was a man of great physical strength. His wife was as timid as he was fearless. One day, as he was making his preparations for a hunting-trip into the wilderness, his wife was vehement in urging her objections. The war between England and France had begun. That, and his wife's uncontrollable fears for his safety, had made him observant — more so than usual. He was sensible, as well, that, France and

England at war, it was only a question of time when Wells would be overrun by the warlike tribes on the Kennebec and Penobscot. One day, as he went down to his blacksmith-shop, he saw a motley gathering of people on Oaks Rocks. He had heard the reports of guns to the westward. His first thought was of the soldiers stationed at the fort. He, however, returned to his house, where he directed his wife to take their child, and, as unobserved as possible, hasten across the creek to an oak-tree, and remain there until he had discovered the meaning of the men, women, and children who were coming toward his house. Then he returned to his shop, and began to pound the wall with his axe, giving at the same time an Indian war-whoop. At this ruse four savages left their hiding-places to rush to the shop door, while Harding escaped by a rear door into a field of corn. He found his wife here, insensible, having been able to get only so far; but, taking her under one arm and the child under the other, he forded the creek, although the tide was at its flood, and, leaving them under the oak-tree, returned toward his house. A huge bear blocked his way. Then, turning back, killing his dog, whose bark would have betrayed them, he again picked up his wife and child and started for Storer's garrison, nine miles away, where he arrived late in the afternoon of the following day. Storer's was asleep; but after some delay, which would have been fatal had the savages found his trail, the garrison was aroused

and he and his family were safe. The savages killed his live stock and carried off his beds; but the house was left, hoping Harding might return to it, and thereby they might be able to capture him.

Bradbury is the relater of this tradition, but Bourne is inclined to accept it as fact, and has given some considerable space to it.[1]

Disappointed in this attempt to capture Harding, the savages crossed the river, and, coming to William Larrabee's cabin, they found his wife and three children alone, Larrabee being a short distance away. He discovered the savages and secreted himself in a jungle of brush, successfully eluding the Indians, who were scouring the vicinity in their search for him. After they went away he pulled himself over the ground until he came upon his murdered family, from whence he made his way to the Storer garrison. It was on this raid that Samuel Hill and his wife were carried into captivity, their children being killed. The same day his brother, Ebenezer Hill, and his wife, who lived at the Falls of the Saco, were captured, and it so happened that both families were in the party taken to Canada. On the road to Berwick lived a family by the name of Adams. Adams and his wife were captured, and the children, being quite young, were butchered. Thomas Wilson was killed, but his family, in some way, escaped.[2]

[1] Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, pp. 246-249.

[2] The cabin of William Parsons was also surprised. The

It is evident that the Indians had a strategic purpose in avoiding Casco and Saco, to make their first attack on the Wells settlers. By so doing, their different parties of marauders would be between the more eastern settlements and the garrisons to the westward, to which the Casco and Saco settlers who were able to escape would make their way; and the Indians, massing to the westward, would be able to cut off the fleeing fugitives.

youngest child (eighteen months) was killed, but another child, a girl, was carried off. He had two other children, with whom he and his wife escaped to York. On September 26, a short two months after, he and another of his daughters were captured by the Indians at the house of Arthur Bragdon. The savages began their journey toward Canada, taking the daughter along. Before they had completed their journey they had used up their provisions and were on the point of starvation. They were going to roast their captive, but, falling in with some Mohawks with three dogs, they offered the girl in exchange for one of the dogs. The Mohawks refused. Then they offered the Mohawks a musket for the dog. That was more satisfactory. The Parsons girl was carried to Canada, but after that her history is lost.

At this same time a son of Moses Littlefield was captured. It was supposed a large ransom would be offered for the boy, but he fell into the hands of the Jesuits of Montreal, and his people never heard from him again. Captain Christian Baker found young Littlefield in Quebec in 1714. Arrangements were made for his return home, but they were rendered futile by Jesuit interference. He was afterward baptized into the Catholic Church, and rechristened Peter. He afterward married, and Canada became the country of his adoption. His father

At Storer's there was distress. Mary Storer was missing. The savages had captured the girl, who was afterward taken to Canada. Storer was one of the prominent men of Wells, and a government officer. Mary Storer was a comely maid of eighteen. It is related that she did not find her captivity irksome. Her personal qualities, added to her natural gifts, gave her a ready entrée into French society; and when Jean St. Germaine, a French *gentil-*

died in 1726; and some years after, his mother; after whose death he came home to secure his interest in the paternal estate. The heirs objected, the main ground of contention being that he was a papist and "had no rights which the court was bound to respect."

The following deposition of Christian Baker was set up in defence: "The deposition of Christen Baker. All that I can say concerning Aaron Littlefield Who Whares taken by the Ingons from Calebunk in ye Province of Massistusetts to the Best of My knowledge is as follows, that I Very Well knew him in Canaday, and that he was baptised Peter and that he was A papist by Profeshon, and his Living and his Marige was in a place called Bashervell in Canaday, Nine Miles from Mount Royal, and that I See his Sister in the Nunnery in Canaday About fifteen or Sixteen years ago. And this is ye Hull truth of What I know, as witness my hand. Sworn to Before Paul Gerrish, J. P., Dover April 1738."

The jury returned a verdict for "the papist," if a papist could hold real estate; if not, for the defendant. The ultimate decision of the court is not recorded.

Littlefield's sister, Tabitha, was captured, but she was not heard from for many years. She liked the wild life of the woods; and Bourne says that, years after, she came into the

homme, offered his hand to her she became Madame St. Germaine. She became so enamored of the social life of the capital of New France that she had no desire to return to the privations of the English settlements. When Storer died he bequeathed fifty pounds to her, upon the condition that she take up her life again in New England. If she refused the condition she was to be cut off with a paltry ten shillings. The legacy did not interest her, and she lived happily at Montreal, until her

vicinity of "Harding's" with a party of Indians, and, while they were bartering and chaffering over their wares, she asked Mrs. Harding — for it was into the old Harding Tavern these nomads had happened — if she remembered Tabitha Littlefield; and with that she vanished.

Esther, the daughter of Col. John Wheelright, was captured at the age of seven years. She, too, was regarded as a most valuable prize, and, despite her tender years, she made the wilderness journey to Canada. She wrote her father several letters, of which one was for a long time preserved, but which has now become lost. Hoping she would sometime return, Wheelright provided for her in his will. Whether she ever profited by his remembrance of her does not occur in history. Bourne says that if Captain Hill made any memoranda of the Wells captives carried away on this fated tenth of August, 1703, and who found their way to Montreal, it has not been preserved. In one letter to a neighbor Hill wrote there were one hundred seventeen in his company, and seventy others left among their savage captors. He gave no names. In this raid Wells suffered grievously, as the cabins of those killed and captured were burned.

Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, pp. 251-254.

death, on August 25, 1747, at the age of sixty-two years.[1]

The attack upon the Wells settlers was the integral part of a generic plan for the destruction of the English. On the same day that the butcheries of the Wells and Sayer families were consummated, August 10, the French and Indians destroyed the cabins of the settlers about the stone fort that Convers built at Saco Falls, where eleven were shot or tomahawked and twenty-four were made prisoners. Another party scoured the lands about the Spurwink,[2] where the Jordans comprised the larger number of the settlers. Here the savages exacted a toll of twenty-two. At Cape Porpoise were the few

[1] Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, pp. 250, 251.

[2] Spurwink was located to the west of what is now Cape Elizabeth, on the west side of the Spurwink River. Penhallow gives it as the east of the Trelawney Grant. The Trelawney trading-house and settlement were on Richmond's Island, off the headland now known as Buena Vista, the southern extremity of what was once the domain of Rev. Robert Jordan. John Winter was Trelawney's factor. The only settlers identified with the Trelawney Grant hereabout were George Cleeve and Richard Tucker, who, ejected by Winter, settled on Casco Bay at what was known as Cascoe. The individual most closely identified with the country about Spurwink was Ambrose Boaden, the ferryman. Penhallow has evidently confounded the Cape Elizabeth lands with Spurwink, as it is in the former vicinity one finds the Jordans. Spurwink may be regarded as altogether in Scarborough, of which the Spurwink River is the eastern boundary.

huts of some fishermen. The destruction of this place was complete. Scarborough was more fortunate. Most of the settlers got into the garrison-house, where they made so determined a defence that the savages, not being willing to meet them in a hand-to-hand fight, sent in one they had taken, with a white flag. The ruse was not successful; for the officer in command, being acquainted with their treacherous professions, not only declined to capitulate, but he detained the fortunate truce-bearer, and set about perfecting his plans for an energetic defence. They were in danger of final destruction, but were relieved by a small force after an extended siege.[1]

The fort at Winter Harbor[2] was attacked; but it was not so successful as the Scarborough garrison, being forced to surrender. In numbers Purpooduck[3] was the worst sufferer. Here were nine families, without a garrison-house. None of the men were at home, being away fishing. The savages swooped down on this place. Eight were made captive; twenty-five were shot down or tomahawked. Among these latter was Michael Webber's wife.[4]

[1] Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 19.

[2] Frontenac, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. i., p. 44.

[3] Purpooduck was just across Fore, or Casco, River (South Portland), where is now Fort Preble, and alongshore past Simonton's Cove were the cabins of the Purpooduck settlers. The origin of the ancient name of this locality is obscure.

[4] Penhallow says: "Being big with child, they knocked her

Casco was next to be invaded, where a little over a year before Governor Dudley was so thoroughly hoodwinked by the dissembling savages. There was a fort here, in command of Major March. He had a force of nearly thirty-six men.

So well concerted were these attacks upon the settlers west of Casco that the officer in command of the fort at that place remained in utter ignorance of the ravages of the French and Indians to the westward. As has been before related, in the several instances where the Indians had made their appearance such settlers as had been able to escape had invariably directed their course toward the Storer garrison. The writer has failed to find a single instance where any of the settlers had looked to the eastward for safety or refuge. It is evident, as well, that the attack upon Purpooduck was simultaneous with, or closely following, that made by the savages upon Casco Fort.

The first intimation to March that the Indians were in the vicinity was the appearance of Moxus, Wanungonet, and Assacumbuit, who came toward the fort under the protection of a white flag. Halting not far from the entrance to the fort, they sent one of their party to inform March that they had something to say to him. Receiving the messenger,

on the head and ript open her womb, cutting one part of the child out; a spectacle of horrid barbarity."

Penhallow, *History of Wars with New England*, p. 19.

and hearing what he had to say, the commandant was inclined to treat the matter with indifference; but, curious to ascertain what might be the purpose of their appearance at this time, and noting that they were few in number and apparently without weapons, he left the fort, as they had requested, but not without first giving orders that some of his men should so dispose of themselves that in case of any surprise or treachery on the part of the savages immediate measures to prevent them from obtaining any present advantage might be made use of. No sooner had March joined the three sachems than they suddenly drew their hatchets, which they had concealed under their garments. This was followed by an immediate attack upon March.

For the more successful carrying out of this plot for the capture of March, a party of savages who had hidden themselves under an adjoining hedge reënforced the efforts of the three sachems by a brisk fire upon the sentinels March had posted at the fort gate. March was a man of unusual strength, and with the first movement of assault upon the part of the sachems he had wrested a hatchet from one of them, with which weapon of offence he held the others at bay until Sergeant Hook came to his rescue with a file of ten men from the fort. This opportune interference of Sergeant Hook alone prevented the success of this savage ruse. The rescue party from the fort was attacked by the savages who had concealed themselves in the

adjoining woodland, and a furious fight resulted, in which a Mr. Phippeny and a Mr. Kent were killed; but the soldiers, encouraged by Major March, put up a stiff fight, so that the savages were unable to accomplish their design.

Failing in this, the latter attacked the cabins adjacent to the fort, setting fire to one after another, until the larger part of the Casco settlement had been destroyed. Regaining the fort safely, with the rescue party, March called the roll of his little company of soldiers, after which he formed them into three divisions of twelve men, each division of which was to stand guard for two hours, interchangeably; and in this manner, for six days and nights, a constant watch was kept upon the motions of the assaulting-party, which was comprised, before the siege ended, of five hundred savages and French, under the command of M. Beaubassin.

Beaubassin's force was the same which had been previously broken up into small parties, by whom the settlers to the westward had been plundered and destroyed. They had captured an English sloop with two shallops, after which they began to mine the Casco fort on that side toward the water. They had been busily engaged in this enterprise — which would ultimately have compelled the surrender of the fort, as March found himself unable to dislodge them from their position — when Captain Southack sailed up the harbor in the *Province Galley*, a well-armed vessel sent eastward out of Boston,

which not only recaptured the sloop and the two shallops previously taken at Kennebunk, but, as well, destroyed many of the savages' canoes, they having come into this vicinity by water. The appearance of Southack was so great a surprise to Beaubassin that he at once raised the siege to disappear into the woods, which at that time covered the larger part of Casco Neck.

In this descent of Beaubassin and his Indian allies upon Casco and Purpooduck (August, 1703) Josiah Wallis made a remarkable escape. There were five hundred savages and French in this force, and the woods and thickets swarmed with these hordes; but Wallis eluded them, and, with his seven-year-old boy on his back, made his way to the Scarborough garrison, which was within a day or two after attacked by the same savage crew. They also appeared before the garrison at Cammock's Neck — probably the same built by John Larrabee, who had been driven away in 1690.

Larrabee sailed his sloop into Garrison Cove to drop anchor near Ferry Rocks. He built anew his garrison, very near where the old Prout's Neck House now stands; and of all the Black Point garrisons it was supposed to have been for successful defence the most favorably located of any of its contemporaries in the vicinity. There seems to be no mention of any other garrison or occupancy in this immediate locality other than Larrabee's. Beaubassin demanded an immediate surrender.

There were in the garrison but eight fighting-men; but Larrabee was made of the best English stuff, and though the force of French and Indians was an overwhelming one, he refused to capitulate upon any terms.

The garrison was situated upon a bluff overhanging the shore, and the French officer at once recognized the feasibility of mining on the shore side. The bank was steep and his men could work safely, being out of the range of the garrison guns. There was no danger of a sortie on the part of the English, and it would have been a most reprehensible act to have made such, for it would have meant their utter annihilation; so they remained in the fort and awaited the turn of events. Whatever came they would sell their lives dearly.

Among some of the men, murmurs arose in the garrison; but at the first suggestion of surrender they were promptly silenced by Larrabee, who declared he would shoot the first man whose cowardice suggested so despicable an act; and he kept at his preparations to meet the enemy so soon as they should have penetrated to the cellar of the fort. Then, posting the watch, they waited. They could hear the miners at work, and it was only a question of time when the breach would be made. They had made half the distance through the bank, and the next day would bring the crisis.

It came, and with it a downpour of rain that lasted two days. The soil, being light and friable,

began to cave, and at last a landslide sloughed off the bank into the excavation, and the miners were exposed to the raking fire of the little garrison. A few well-directed shots from the garrison drove the enemy from the shore; and Beaubassin, ignorant of the garrison force, withdrew, to go still further west in search of a less strenuous resistance. The fight at Larrabee's became a fireside tale, the telling of which is not yet forgotten.

On August 17, 1703, thirty savages, under a sachem known as Captain Tom, fell upon Hampton village, where they killed five of the English and plundered two houses; but, the alarm having been sounded, the Hampton people rallied for the defence of the place. Following their usual practice wherever they were courageously withstood, the savages withdrew at once.[1]

Throughout New Hampshire, and that portion of the country along the Piscataqua River, the inhabitants were in a condition bordering on terror, by reason of the uncertainty as to when or where the Indians might make their next appearance. These people, as they went from place to place, and wrought in their fields, carried their muskets, and

[1]One of the victims of this raid on Hampton was the widow Mussey, a noted Quakeress preacher. The others were a son of William Hinckley, Thomas Lancaster, Nicholas Bond, and Jonathan Green.

Belknap, p. 167, note.

Hampton Town Records.

in many instances posted guards to inform them of the approach of the enemy. Belknap says, "Troops of horse were quartered at Portsmouth, and in the Province of Maine," while Parkman is more particular in his relation of the incidents occurring at that time. Charlevoix says: "Monsieur de Vaudreuil formed a party of these savages, (the Abenake,) to whom he joined some Frenchmen under the direction of the Sieur de Beaubassin, when they effected some ravages of no great consequence; they killed, however, about three hundred men." Parkman estimates the number of killed and those made captive as one hundred sixty.[1]

A little later, Captain Summersby was sent to Portsmouth with a troop of horse. Wells was strengthened by a similar force under Captain Wadley, with the expectation that the savages would operate mostly along the Piscataqua border; but word came from Deerfield that the Indians had

[1] In these incidents recorded by Penhallow, who seems to be the original authority, supposed to be conversant with these happenings by reason of his acquaintance with the settlers, this author is careless in his arrangement of them. Parkman falls into the same error.

Compare Belknap, vol. i., p. 330; Folsom, *History of Saco*, p. 198; *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. iii., pp. 140, 348; Williamson, *History of Maine*, vol. ii., p. 42.

Penhallow calls Beaubassin, *Bobasser*. Compare Southgate, (*Maine Hist. Coll.*, p. 148) and Penhallow (p. 21) on death of Hunnewell at Great Pond (Massacre Pond), 1713.

made their appearance in that vicinity, and had carried off two settlers. Massachusetts took the alarm at this invasion, and despatched an armed force of three hundred sixty men against the Pequawket settlement; but by reason of the obstacles they were obliged to surmount in their journey, and the ignorance of their guides, nothing was accomplished. About the same time Captain Davis led an expedition in the direction of the Ossipee Ponds, but with no better results, the savages having taken the trail to the eastward.[1]

At Scarborough the savages attacked the garrison where Lieutenant Wyatt had been posted, with eight men. Captains Willard and Wells were lying off Black Point in their sloops, which gave Wyatt some encouragement to persist in the defence of the place; but the Indians being in considerable force, there being two hundred of them under the direction of a French officer, he relinquished his defence, and drawing off his men unobserved, he took them aboard the sloop of Captain Wells, thus eluding the savages, who afterward burned the deserted garrison.[2] This was followed by an attack on York, where they surprised Arthur Bragdon's wife and five children, whom they butchered, carrying away a Mrs. Parsons and her daughter.

Such were the uncertainty and terror prevailing

[1]Belknap, p. 168.

[2]Southgate, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, pp. 140, 141.

among the settlers on account of these raids that Captain March determined upon carrying the war into the country of the enemy, and, hoping to improve upon the recent expedition into the Pequawket country, he fitted out a force (Penhallow says, "with a like number of men"). He came across a party of savages, of whom he killed six, bringing home as many more prisoners. Both these efforts were bound to be partial failures, if not wholly so, for the reason that the savages, having divided themselves into small parties, were enabled to evade pursuit, while at the same time they were able to disperse themselves over a considerable area in the committing of their depredations. At Berwick they shot five settlers from an ambush, while another party at the same time were attacking the store-ship at Casco, where the captain of the craft and three of his sailors were killed, two others being wounded. These events added a new impetus to the partially aroused energies of the Massachusetts government, which at this time offered a bounty of forty pounds for each Indian scalp brought in.[1]

The government was convinced that more energetic measures must be taken, both in matters of

[1] Penhallow notes that it was this success of Colonel March that encouraged the government to offer a bounty of forty pounds for an Indian's scalp, in which the English had descended to the plane of savage barbarity. On the colonial books this disbursement is charged to an "honorable service." Belknap, p. 168.

defence and offence; for the settlers had become discouraged as well as greatly impoverished. The bounty offered had the desired effect; for in mid-winter Captain Tyng made up a party, and, making his way through the wilderness, came upon one of the Indian villages, where he secured five Indian scalps, which he brought back with him, for which the colonial government paid him two hundred pounds. Major Winthrop Hilton, becoming enthused with this exploit of Captain March, went out with five companies, but was entirely unsuccessful. Captain Stephens shortly after made an excursion into the wilderness, in which he was no more successful. The government, however, appreciating Hilton's energy, gave him twelve pounds in recognition of his efforts; and five pounds were given to each of his three captains,— Gilman, Chesley, and Davis.

Although Wadley had been sent to Wells, that place was not so much in danger as were others to the west, as it was abundantly supplied with garrisons. In fact, it was along this road — the King's Highway — the garrisons were mostly located, all of which were in a degree fortified and capable of a vigorous defence. These places of refuge were ample for those who sought them for safety.[1]

The winter season, with its inclement weather, was not favorable for these forays; nor was it favor-

[1] Bourne, p. 259.

able to the purposes of the Indians, as the snow made it difficult for them to conceal their trail, nor could they indulge in their usual tactics of skulking about the settlements without surety of betrayal. Discovery and pursuit were the two things most dreaded by the savage, notwithstanding which they were abroad, as Nicholas Cole had reason to believe. He owned part of a mill on one of the streams of Wells,[1] and the Indians were anxious to capture him, as he was not only a prominent man, but also an expert millman. In those days beavers were abundant along most of the wilderness streams, and Cole was something of a trapper. Just below his mill he was wont to set his traps. In some way he became aware that the savages were in the vicinity, and he left his traps unvisited for an interval of some three weeks.

Upon going to the place Cole found the trap had been taken, and after the war was over he learned that his surmise was not without foundation, as the savages had lain in wait for him for nineteen days, but, concluding that he had discovered their purpose, they had decamped, taking the trap along with them. They regarded Cole as a valuable prize, and could they have captured him and taken him to Canada the French would have found him abundant occupation.

[1]Bourne says the site of Cole's mill was where the Gowen mill now stands.

Bourne, p. 258.

These isolate attacks were followed by the appearance of the savages at Deerfield, which place they attacked upon the morning of February 29, 1704. Deerfield was on the Connecticut River, and, except for Northfield, was the most northerly settlement. This town was an offshoot of old Dedham, a few miles out of Boston. As a settlement it originated in the quarrel which arose over the boundary-line of an Indian plantation of two thousand acres of land at Natick; and to compensate for their supposed losses those inhabitants of Dedham who found themselves unable to live in so close proximity to Eliot's converts, the General Court granted them eight thousand acres of land, which they were to select from such territory as was at that time unoccupied by the English. The town officers, to whom the matter was relegated, presently "heard of a considerable tract of good land that might be answerable ten or twelve miles north from Hadley;" and they urged the taking of the same by the Dedhamites "with all convenient speed, before any other granter enter upon and prevent us." Once the locality was agreed upon, a farce of obtaining a conveyance from the Indians was perfected through Major Pynchon, of Springfield. Exercising his usual tact, he obtained a large tract of land from the Nipmuck sachem, whose people had their habitat in that vicinity, the Indians reserving to themselves their accustomed hunting and fishing rights, and of gathering wild nuts in their season.

It was hither the Dedham townspeople came, some strangers coming along with them, among whom the Deerfield grant was duly divided. This was in 1670, and two men from Hatfield were the first to build their cabins within the limits of the new town. A few years later the settlement had become a considerable village, and was not much different in the disposition of its homes, which were strung along a trail, which has become the main thoroughfare, much the same as one sees it in these days. This place was first known as Pocumtuck, its Indian cognomen, its present designation having been given to it by reason of the abundance of deer that haunted its woodlands.

In King Philip's War it was attacked September 1, 1675, when several houses were burned and one man was killed. It was near-by that Captain Lothrop, with his eighty men, that same month, were butchered in the famous massacre of Bloody Brook, an incident which was followed by the desertion of Deerfield; and it was not until 1682 that the settlers returned to this place and began to build up anew the settlement upon which the Indians looked down that February morning of 1704.

Deerfield was not unaware of the raids which the Indians had been making upon the settlements to the eastward. The resident minister of that place, John Williams, was so apprehensive of their danger that he requested the government for a relay of

soldiers.[1] Twenty men were sent for a garrison. While some of the people strengthened their defences, the majority were incredulous. Later, they were warned that the savages were about to make a descent upon the place, which warning came from Col. John Schuyler, who had a trading-house at Albany, and who was in a way of getting information of the purposes of the Indians. Some Mohawks came in, who were thoroughly in touch with the Canadian plan through their kin who had settled at St. Louis, a short distance above Montreal. These latter had been converted by the Jesuits, and in that way had become allied to the French.

In those days the people were superstitious, as was evidenced by the hanging of women at Salem as witches, not long before. These were days of signs and wonders, when if the butter or soap delayed its coming the churn and the kettle were to be purged of their bewitchment with a hot darning-needle; when if the chimney-flue refused to carry off the smoke of their open fire it was because a witch was perched upon the chimney-top. An old cart stuck in the mud was restrained by some invisible power; and if a child cried, a search was made for a witch-pin; when the cow held up her

[1]Williams says, in his letter to the governor, October 21, 1703, that the palisade is rotten, and must be rebuilt.
Massachusetts Archives.

milk it was charged to the devil's imps, who had been feeding themselves at the expense of the poor animal. Those were times when the dead walked at midnight; and the people avoided the passing of a graveyard, where every ray of moonshine held a sheeted ghost, and the rattle of a shutter, or other strange sound about the house, the creaking of the floor, or the snapping of a nail in the woodwork, were evidences of uncanny companionship.

The historian, in writing of this Deerfield massacre, refers to a happening of supernatural interest, which for two or three evenings previous to the attack of the Indians became a topic of curious questioning among the Deerfield people. The Reverend Solomon Stoddard alludes to it in these words: "The people of Deerfield were strangely amazed by a trampling noise around the fort, as if it were besieged by the Indians." There were old men in Deerfield who were led by this evidence to recall similar omens preceding the attack of Philip, "when from the clear sky came the sound of horse troops, the roar of artillery, the rattle of small arms and the beating of drums to the charge." As a matter of fact, however true the story to which Mr. Stoddard makes allusion may have been, it was nevertheless true that to the northward the Indians, under their French officers, were threading their way through the wilderness toward Deerfield.

The occasion was particularly well chosen. The snow was deep, but that did not deter them, as they

were able to make the journey upon their snow-shoes with a fair degree of despatch. This expedition, commanded by the French officer Hertel de Rouville, came down by the way of Lake Champlain. They left the lake near what is now Burlington, taking the trail of the Winooski River up, from the upper waters of which they threaded a gap in the Green Mountains, to follow the White River Valley until they struck the Connecticut, the frozen surface of which afterward became their highway. They made their journey by easy stages, pitching camp as the sun went down — which they were enabled to do with some degree of comfort as they brought their camp equipage along upon sledges to which were hitched their dog-teams.

The last day of the march, leaving all their impedimenta behind, they pushed on until they came out upon a bluff, the crest of which was smothered with a thick growth of pines, within the shelter of which, on the night of February 28, they unstrapped their packs and painted their faces, making their final arrangements for the atrocities of the next day.

There is a peculiar tradition attached to this particular invasion of Deerfield by the Indians, which is that these three or four hundred French and Indians made this long winter journey out of Canada for the sole purpose of capturing the bell which hung in the Deerfield church steeple. The tradition alleges that this particular bell had been taken

from a French vessel by a colonial privateer, the destination of which bell was one of the Catholic churches of Canada. In this raid the bell was secured, and was drawn all the way to Canada on a sledge, and there, in the Chapel St. Regis, it was used to call the Children of the Faith to the Jesuit services. The tradition, however, records that several times since its capture the Deerfield people have sent commissions upon various pilgrimages to St. Regis, to secure the return of the bell; but the French refuse to part with their treasure, saying that if it ever returns to Deerfield it must be something after the fashion of its going — as one of the spoils of war.

It was on this bluff above the town the savages lay in hiding as the night hours waned, until the first gray of the dawn. The stiff crust of snow furthered the design of the savages, for it bore their weight readily. Leaving their snow-shoes bunched at the edge of the meadow that lay between the bluff and the village, they were able to make their advance unencumbered. The sentinel, wearying of his vigil, had left his post and turned in to sleep, so the village had no warning of the approach of the enemy, as De Rouville's advance was made by short spurts and halts, to simulate the gusty winds as the crust cracked under their scuffing tread. They were cold and hungry, and not unlike a pack of wolves. They were about to gorge their appetites with the glut of butchery and plunder. At the

northwest corner of the palisades the winter winds had lifted the drifts high against the slight barrier, over which the savages poured into the defenceless town. Distributing themselves among the houses, a war-whoop gave the signal, and the butchery began.

Two garrisons made resistance, one inside the palisade and the other outside. Except for the inmates of one of these garrisons, and a few, possibly, who escaped into the woods, all the inhabitants of Deerfield were either killed or captured. One of these garrison-houses was that of Ensign John Sheldon. From the first it was surrounded by the savages, and those of the settlers outside who would have sought its safety were unable to get in. The door was so heavily barred the Indians were unable to break it open, but, cutting through it with their tomahawks, they pushed a musket into the opening, a shot from which killed the elder Mrs. Sheldon as she sat on the edge of her bed, which happened to be directly in range of the haphazard shot. Sheldon's son dropped to the crust from a chamber window. His wife Hannah followed him, but in striking on the hard and slippery crust she sprained her ankle and was unable to accompany him in their proposed flight. She urged him to make his way to Hatfield for aid, and, getting into the woods, half naked and his feet bound up in strips of an old coat which he had seized as he left the garrison, he made the journey. Hannah Sheldon was captured and taken to Canada.

The savages, going to the rear of the Sheldon garrison, not being able to force the main entrance, found a door which yielded to their efforts. Breaking it down, they rushed into the garrison, after which its capture was quickly accomplished. Being one of the largest houses in the settlement, the Indians used it as a temporary jail, herding their prisoners within its walls while they finished their work of butchery and plunder elsewhere about the place. After they had completed their destruction of the houses by setting fire to them, they emptied the Sheldon garrison of its humanity, the captors singling out their human property in their preparations for a speedy retreat.

The central point of attack was the Stebbins house; for it was that garrison that made the most determined defence. It was about fifty yards from the Sheldon house.[1] In it were seven armed men

[1] Stebbins was next-door neighbor to John Williams. The walls of this house were bullet-proof. It was occupied by Stebbins, his wife, and five children. With him were David Hoyt, Joseph Catlin, and a namesake of Colonel Church the Indian-fighter,— Benjamin Church. They were well supplied with muskets and ammunition. Stebbins was killed outright by a random bullet; Hoyt was wounded, as was his wife. A Caughnawaga sachem, and a French officer, possibly a younger brother of Hertel, being killed in this assault, the reduction of this particular garrison was abandoned for less hazardous conquests.

The Williams house was burned, as well as the other houses in the palisade. The ruddy reflection on the morning sky was

and several women. The men kept up a brisk fire on the savages, the women loading their guns and casting bullets. After several attempts to take it by stratagem or burning, all of which proved unsuccessful, the savages withdrew. This house and one other alone survived the torch of the enemy, the latter having been pillaged and fired when the savages began their retreat. It was, however, saved by those of the English who had escaped death and capture in the village. This house was known for years as the "Old Indian House," and as late as

seen as far as Hatfield, Hadley, and Northampton, and the sleepy hamlets had taken the alarm. They gathered at the Jonathan Wells garrison, at the south end of the Deerfield village, which was crowded with refugees. The English, joined by some of the Deerfield men, made a rush through the south gate of the palisade, surprising some of the loitering savages, who had not finished their plundering, and drove them after those already on the march. Wells, with about fifty men, started in pursuit. The flight of these savages became a rout, until De Rouville, hearing the guns at the village, turned back to go into ambush. When the English came up they were met with a destructive volley which killed many of the pursuing-party, while the remainder, panic-stricken, made a retreat to the town, where they made a final stand at the palisade. Nine of the Wells party were killed. The house of the town clerk, Thomas French, with the town records, escaped; also the meeting-house. A full account of the Deerfield tragedy is given by John Williams in his *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion.*

Vide also various papers printed on the same subject by the venerable historian of Deerfield, Mr. George Sheldon,

1848 its sills and roof-timbers were sound. The old door, studded with nails and hacked with tomahawks, may still be seen as one of the relics of the Deerfield massacre, being preserved in the Deerfield Museum.

One of the houses first to be assaulted was that of the minister, John Williams, and he relates, in his story of *A Captive Redeemed*, etc., that when the

who is to be regarded as the modern authority as to historical events belonging to old Pocumtuck.

For a lucid story of the Deerfield massacre, see Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, chap. IV.; *An account of y^e^ destruction at Deref'd. Feb. 29, 1703-4*, in *Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1867, p. 478; Hoyt, *Antiquarian Researches;* Stephen Williams, *Account of the Captivity;* Hoyt, *Indian Wars* (edition of 1824); Johnson's *An Unredeemed Captive*, 1897.

For various accounts of this raid, *vide* Sheldon's *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., pp. 295-319.

At the time of this descent of the French and Indians upon Deerfield the settlement was made up of forty-one houses, fifteen of which were inside the stockade. Outside, to the north, were a dozen houses; to the south were fourteen. Its population the night before the attack was two hundred eighty-nine. Of these, twenty were garrison soldiers. When the fight was over, the next morning, but one hundred twenty-six had escaped death or captivity. The others had been scalped, or had begun their three-hundred-mile journey through the snow-smothered wilderness on their way to Canada.

Sheldon's *History of Deerfield*, p. 310.

For a description of the route taken on the return of the French and Indians to Canada, *vide ibid*, p. 315.

sun was an hour high the destruction of Deerfield had been completed; thirty-eight settlers had been killed; one hundred nineteen, made prisoners, among the latter being Williams, his wife, and little daughter Eunice, who were taken to Canada.

Hertel, in this assault, was supported by three hundred forty French and Indians; and hardly had they taken up their march homeward than they were followed by a party of settlers from Hatfield, who, coming up with the enemy, engaged them in a sharp skirmish, losing nine men and barely escaping capture for the remainder. In his story Williams says that De Rouville was so hard pressed in this pursuit that he ordered the captives who had been taken to be killed, but before his messenger could deliver the order to the main body he was shot by one of the settlers. The English, being forced to take up their retreat, made that butchery unnecessary, and the three-hundred-mile march to Canada was resumed by the English without further interruption.

In their journey they came to Green River. The ice had gone out of that stream, and the captives were ordered to wade the same. Mrs. Williams, who had just arisen from a sick-bed, in her weakness stumbled, falling into the water, after which, being unable to keep up with her captors, an Indian despatched her with a hatchet.[1] Her body was

[1] Major Church had an account of this cruelty to Mrs.

found a few days later by some of the settlers who had followed the trail of the savages at a distance, and so was carried back to Deerfield. The Williams girl gave out on the hard journey, and was carried to Canada upon the back of one of the Indians.

Once in Canada, the father and daughter were separated, and it was in 1713 that John Schuyler made a journey into Canada in the interest of the prisoners taken in the Deerfield raid. He saw Eunice Williams at Caughnawaga. With the hope of restoring her to her friends, he made inquiry regarding her, and found that she had accepted the

Williams, and relates two instances to which he was an eye-witness. One was: "a Woman that those Barbarous Salvages had taken and kill'd, exposed in a most brutish manner (as can be express'd) with a Young Child seiz'd fast with strings to her breast; which Infant had no apparent wound, which doubtless was left alive to suck its dead Mother's Breast, and so miserably to perish & dye. Also to see other poor Children hanging upon Fences dead, of either Sex, in their own poor Rags, not worth their stripping them of, in scorn and derision. Another Instance was, of a straggling Souldier, who was found at *Casco*, expos'd in a shameful and barbarous manner; his body being staked up, his head cut off, and a hog's head set in the room, his body rip'd up, and his heart and inwards taken out, and private Members cut off, and hung with belts of their own, the inwards at one side of his body, and his private at the other, in scorn & derision of the *English* Souldiers, &c."

Church says he would soon make an end of those "barbarities done by the Barbarous Enemy, by making it his whole

Jesuit faith and been rebaptized under the name of Margaret, and that she was the wife of a young Indian. Schuyler reports her personal appearance as being "very poor in body and bashful in the face." She seemed unable to converse with him in English; so, using an interpreter, he tried to talk with her, but had no better success, as she would make no conversation with him. In response to his final appeal that she go to her father, she uttered these words in a low voice: "Zaghte, oghte" (It may not be!).

As Schuyler took his leave he remarked to her, "Had I made such proposals and prayings to the worst of Indians, I do not doubt but what I would have had a reasonable answer and consent to what I said." The Indian to whom she was married, evidently fearing the effect of these words of Schuyler's upon his wife, touched the arm of the latter, saying in broken English, "She no go, her father marry twice time. He no have marry, she go."

business to fight and destroy those Salvages, as they did our poor Neighbors, which doubtless might have been done if rightly managed, and that in a short time &c."

Church, *Fifth and Last Eastern Expedition*, p. 99.

"The instruments of this ignoble warfare and the revolting atrocities that accompanied it were all, or nearly all, converted Indians of the missions."

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, p. 47.

Charlevoix seems to approve of these barbarities.

Charlevoix, vol. ii., pp. 289, 290 (quarto edition).

Schuyler's errand failing, he turned on his heel and left her. This is but one of the many incidents which came of the baneful promise of Louis XIV. to the English exile.

From this attack on Deerfield it is apparent that the offensive tactics of the English had little influence in deterring the savages from pursuing their depredations; for they appeared at Berwick a second time, where they burned two houses, killing one settler and wounding another, to afterward attack the garrison of Andrew Neal, where they met with a disastrous repulse at the hands of Captain Brown, who killed nine of the savages and wounded several others — an experience to which they were so unaccustomed that they vented their rage upon one of their captives, Joseph Ring, by burning him at the stake in the immediate vicinity.

Early in the following February the Bradley garrison at Haverhill was attacked by a small party of savages, who happened in the vicinity. The garrison gate had been left open, and was unguarded. Discovering this, the savages made an effort to reach the enclosure; but they were discovered by Goodwife Bradley, who was at the time busily engaged in soap-making. Seizing a ladle, she dipped it full of the scalding lye and, using it as a weapon upon one of the invading-party, she killed him on the spot with a douche of its contents. The sentinel who should have been on guard was shot, and Mrs. Bradley and other inmates of the

garrison were made captives. She was sold to the French for eighty livres, to be afterward ransomed by her husband.

With the opening of the spring days of 1705 the Indians made a descent upon Oyster River, where Nathaniel Meader was shot while in his field. At Lamphrey River, Edward Taylor was shot, and his wife and son were captured.

In May of this year Colonel Church was despatched east with a considerable force, sailing from Boston down to the Piscataqua, where he was joined by Major Hilton. Church consumed the entire summer in this expedition, going as far as Chignecto and the Basin of Minas, touching at Penobscot and Passamaquoddy, where he did some unimportant damage to the savages of that quarter, taking a daughter of St. Castin, with some of her people, in his foray up the Penobscot—which was a very inadequate return for the outlay of the expedition. This may be regarded as another instance of the misdirection of the colonial government, and, as well, of its ignorance of the situation; for this was Church's fifth eastern expedition, and the last.

It was in this same spring that the savages appeared upon the edge of Dover, where they lay in ambush for the settlers as they returned from church; but they were not able to carry out their purpose, except to give a fatal wound to Mark Giles, whom they came upon by surprise.

Parkman notes that one of the objects of these

savage raids was to check the advance of the English settler over the eastern frontier; and Charlevoix says, "The essential point was to commit the Abenakis in such a manner that they could not draw back."[1] That was the view-point of the French, who claimed that their territory extended to the west as far as the Kennebec River. That was the set boundary between these two nations at war, and the savages were to prevent the English from passing it. The English, as has before been noted, were the nearest market, and some of the English were not above selling the Indians whatever they desired, from a gun to a camp-kettle. So the French were always at the back of the Abenake, urging them against the English; while the English New York frontier was left undisturbed, that the Five Nations might not be aroused to retaliation in favor of the Dutch-English, who were their friends and would naturally resent such interference.

Carrying out this policy, in the spring of 1704 the savages were again scouring Scarborough and Wells. The French and Indians had also built a fort on the Coos intervales, and were there planting their corn. On getting this word from Albany, Caleb Lyman, with five friendly Indians, left the Northampton settlement, and, penetrating the wilderness a long distance, they came upon an Indian wigwam. A heavy thunder-storm was

[1] Charlevoix, vol. ii., pp. 289, 290 (quarto edition).

raging at the time. There were nine savages in this shelter, seven of whom were killed by Lyman and his party.[1] Still the butcheries continued, of which the country about Wells seemed to bear the brunt.

April 25, 1704, two men were killed and one made captive as they were traversing one of the

[1]The following is the account of Caleb Lyman of this excursion: "Sometime in the month of May, 1704, there came intelligence from Albany, of a number of enemy Indians up Connecticut River, who had built a fort, and planted corn at a place called Cowassuck. On the fifth of June following we set out (by order of authority) from Northampton, and went nine days journey into the wilderness, (through much difficulty, by reason of the enemy's hunting and scouting in the woods, as we perceived by their tracks and firing) and then came across some fresh which we followed till we came in sight of the above-said river: Supposing there might be a number of Indians at hand, we being not far from the place where the fort was said to be built. Here we made a halt, to consult what methods to take; and soon concluded to send out a spy, with green leaves for a cap and vest, to prevent his own discovery, and to find out the enemy. But before our spy was out of sight, we saw two Indians, at a considerable distance from us in a canoe, and so immediately called him: And soon after we heard the firing of a gun up the river. Upon which we concluded to keep close till sunset; and then if we could make any further discovery of the enemy, to attack them if possible in the night. And accordingly when the evening came on, we moved towards the river, and soon perceived a smoke, at about half a mile's distance, as we thought, where we afterwards found they had taken up their lodging. But so great was the difficulty, that (though we used our ut-

Wells trails, and the settlers made their way rapidly into the garrisons. Wadley's troopers were practically useless among the Wells woods, which were continuous along the trails and horse-paths about the old town; nor were the savages to be captured by any such cumbersome arm of the colonial service. They were adepts in the artifice of skulking

most care and diligence in it) we were not able to make the approach till about two o'clock in the morning, when we came within twelve rods of the wigwam where they lay. But here we met with a new difficulty, which we feared would have ruined our design. For the ground was so covered over with dry sticks and brush, for the space of five rods, that we could not pass, without making such a crackling, as we thought would alarm the enemy and give them time to escape. But while we were contriving to compass our design, God in his good providence so ordered, that a very small cloud arose, which gave a smart clap of thunder, and a sudden shower of rain. And this opportunity we embraced, to run through the thicket; and so came undiscovered within sight of the wigwam; and perceived by their noise that the enemy were awake. But however, being unwilling to lose any time, we crept on our hands and knees till we were within three or four rods of them. Then we arose, and ran to the side of the wigwam, and fired in upon them: and flinging down our guns we surrounded them with our clubs and hatchets and knocked down several we met with. But after all our vigilance, two of their number made their escape from us: one mortally wounded, and the other not hurt, as we afterwards heard.

"When we came to look over the slain, we found seven dead on the spot: six of whom we scalped, and left the other unscalped. (Our Indian saying, they would give one to the country, since we had each of us one, and so concluded we

and ambuscade, and once the horse-company had set out the savages were not to be found.

It happened that on one occasion seven savages were seen from the highway over on Drake's Island. The authorities were notified, and some men were got together and an effort made to secure them by capture; but when the English came to

should be rich enough.) When the action was thus over, we took our scalps and plunder, such as guns, skins, &c. and the enemy's canoes, in which we came down the river about twelve miles by break of day and then thought it prudence to dismiss and break the canoes, knowing there were some of the enemy betwixt us and home.

"And now, all our care being how to make a safe and comfortable return, we first looked over our provision, and found we had not more than enough for one small refreshment: and being above one hundred miles from any English settlement, we were very thoughtful how we should subsist by the way. For having tracked about thirty of the enemy a little before us, we could not hunt for our subsistence for fear of discovery; and so were obliged to eat buds of trees, grass and strawberry leaves, for the space of four or five days, till through the goodness of God we safely arrived at Northampton, on the 18th or 20th of the aforesaid June. And some time after (upon our humble petition to the Great and General Court, to consider this service we had done) we received thirty-one pounds reward. And I have only this to observe, that in consequence of this action, the enemy were generally alarmed, and immediately forsook their fort and corn at Cowassuck, and never returned to this day that we could hear of, to renew their settlement in that place."

Penhallow, pp. 31-33.

Trumbull, *History of Northampton*, vol. i.

the island the savages had disappeared, nor were they able to discover any trace of them. They scoured the island and beat up the thickets and woods, but the savages had gone. They were secreted in a flag-pond which the English regarded as a muck-hole without footing. They had stretched themselves on their backs among the rushes, their mouths out of water, having broken some of the flags over their heads, and there they reposed quietly throughout the quest, and until the English had retired.

May 11, following, Nicholas Cole, the millman, with three soldiers,— Nicholas Hodson, Thomas Dane, and Benjamin Gooch,— went out to search for some cattle that had strayed a mile or so from the Wheelright garrison. It was a foolhardy venture for the times, but they had their guns along and doubted not their ability to defend themselves. They found their cattle, and, as was to be anticipated, they also found a party of savages, a round dozen of them. The savages had without doubt been waiting the coming of some one after the herd, thinking possibly Wheelright might come. The Indians had taken a position to cut off the return of Cole, and those with him, to the garrison; but Cole was courageous and of quick wit, and was for giving the Indians a fight, but the others demurred. Their courage was oozing rapidly, and they ran. Cole had no other alternative than to follow.

Below the hill where they found themselves

trapped was the river. He leaped down the slope to make the stream, but an Indian bullet stopped his flight. Hodson shared the same fate. Dane was captured, while Gooch, taking to his heels the moment he saw the savages, got away unobserved, and, keeping the shelter of the woods, reached the river. Crawling under its shelving bank behind a bush, he saw the tragedy that overtook Cole, even to the tearing of his scalp from his head and the throwing of his gun into the river. Bourne says that ninety-six years later Cole's musket was found in the bed of the river. Gooch reached the garrison safely; and though Captain Haile's company was at once despatched in pursuit, the savages had fled.

At that time a man by the name of Lewis Allen was living in Wells, near the sawmill on Little River. He was a blacksmith. He came here as a spy from the Governor of Nova Scotia, and was invested with authority as an agent for the exchange of prisoners, to cover his despicable mission, while he was spying out the purposes of the English in matter of preparations to subdue the Indians. He came under the protection of a flag of truce; but in some way the character of his mission was suspected, yet the evidence was not sufficient to warrant his apprehension. He had not taken pains to hide his letter of instructions. On searching him, in his wallet was found an order,—"If any enterprise is on foot, that he would join L. A., the first two letters of his name, together. If it was only in agitation,

place them at some distance; but if nothing was in motion, then to sign a cross."

Notwithstanding this discovery, he made his escape and got safely to Port Royal, where he was in 1720. He conveyed his estate in Wells to one Lewis Bane, of New York.[1]

It was in consequence of Colonel Church's eastern expedition of this year that the English frontier, in the latter half of the year 1704, was allowed a respite from the forays of the savages. Of the more important incidents taking place in the months of April and May, the attack on Northampton was the most disastrous.

On May 13 a runner came in from that place about daybreak, reporting that a band of French and Indians had attacked a garrison at Pascommuck.[2] No watch having been kept, the settlers were surprised in their beds. The savages raided the garrison and, thrusting the muzzles of their guns through the port-holes, shot those who came

[1] Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, p. 30.
Bourne, p. 260.

[2] Easthampton, Mass.

The attacking savages were doubtless Penobscots. They were under the leadership of a Frenchman by the name of Montigny.

"May 12, [13] Pascomok Fort taken by y^{e} French and Indians, being about 72. They took and Captivated y^{e} whole Garrison, being about 37 Persons. The English Pursueing of them caused them to nock all the Captives on the head

within sight in the house as fast as they ran from their beds, killing some and wounding others. The garrison finally got their wits and guns together and began a stubborn resistance; but the Indians, setting the house in a blaze, drove the English from their cover, and they were obliged to surrender. The Indians, fearing pursuit, left behind them one of the wounded, so he might tell the soldiers that, if they were followed they would kill the captives in their hands; but the man, making his way to a place of safety, was shot down by another savage.

That same morning they came upon an isolate farmhouse where the dogs awoke the sleepers, who at once got their guns to give the savages a few volleys to some advantage, so that the attacking-party drew off.

As for the savages who made the raid on the Pascommuck garrison, they found themselves pursued. Three of the captured escaped; eight were recaptured; nineteen were killed by the savages; and three were taken to Canada.

The following day Major Whiting took up the trail of the marauders with a party of horse, with the usual result. The government was slow to understand the absolute futility of hunting savages

Save 5 or 6. Three they carried to Canada with them, the others escap'd and about 7 of those knocked on the head Recovered, y^{e} rest died. Capt. John Taylor was killed in the fight, and Sam Bartlett wounded."

Recorder's Book of Old Hampshire County.

on horseback. It was shortly after that Church's eastern expedition got away.

At this time a controversy arose between New Hampshire and the Massachusetts people, who remonstrated against being further taxed to support the defence of the eastern settlers. New Hampshire took the ground — and justly so — that the circumstances were equitable, the Massachusetts settlements being outside the danger-zone and not otherwise affected, and in consequence should bear a proportion of the expenses, New Hampshire being on the frontier and a constant sufferer from savage attack, and in equal peril with York, just over the Piscataqua, where the government had not only stationed four companies of soldiers, but had abated the town's charges. In response, twenty friendly Indians were sent to New Hampshire to patrol the frontier of that province.[1]

Taking into consideration the niggardliness and the incapacity of the colonial government toward the eastern settlers, the wonder comes to one that these did not give up the fight and thus change the frontier to a quarter where a more energetic attitude would be compulsory. But these sturdy settlers held their ground, fighting, watching, and waiting for better days; for no war but had its end sometime, and so must this one.

Penhallow makes mention of a design on North-

[1] *Council Records.*

ampton of which the English have "had seasonable advice," in connection with which he mentions the killing of two men on their way to Deerfield, and the appearance of a French deserter who gave some information of the invading army.

There was renewed activity among the scouts, and Major Whiting went as far as the Ossipee Ponds with a considerable force; but he found only some canoes, which he destroyed. He says the French and Indians numbered seven hundred, "under the command of Monsieur Boocore."[1] By reason of some dissensions among themselves, the party became divided in its councils and "upwards of two hundred returned in discontent."

This is the war-party, the objective of which, under a French officer of repute named Beaucour, was the Connecticut Valley. John Williams wrote, "This army went away in such boasting triumphant manner that I had great hopes God would discover and disappoint their plans." His hopes were fulfilled, as Beaucour's seven or eight hundred men went to pieces within two days' march of the English, who were on the lookout for them this time, and whatever advantage they might obtain would be the result of a vigorous fight. That being contrary to their mode of warfare, they melted away like the dew, and less than a third were left to un-

[1] M. Beaucour.
Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 321.

dertake a skulking campaign, by dividing into small parties to lay waste such outlying cabins as came in their way. Some of them appeared at Lancaster,[1] where they committed some small depredations, being unsuccessful by reason of the watchfulness of the settlements, which were holding themselves in readiness for the approach of the savages.

Captains Tyng and How met a party of savages, but, being outnumbered, after a sharp skirmish, they got off with some loss; yet Penhallow says, "Those that were slain were more than ours," among the former of whom was a French officer of some distinction, whose name is not given by this annalist. The savages set the meeting-house on

[1] "On the 8th of August, 1704, as several persons were busy in spreading flax, on a plain, about eighty rods from the house of Mr. Thomas Rice, and a number of boys with them, a number of Indians, seven or ten, suddenly rushed down a woody hill near by, and knocked on the head Nabor Rice, the youngest boy, and seized Asher and Adonijah, sons of Mr. Thomas Rice, and two others, Silas and Timothy, sons of Mr. Edmund Rice, and carried them away to Canada. The persons engaged in spreading flax, escaped safely to the house. Asher, in about four years, returned, being redeemed by his father. His brother Adonijah, grew up in Canada, and married there. Silas and Timothy mixed with the Indians; lost their mother tongue, had Indian wives, and children by them; and lived at Cagnawaga. The last became the third of the six chiefs of the Cagnawagas, and was known among them by the name of Oughtsorongoughton."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 35, note.

fire, and, killing some of the cattle, destroyed some "outhouses." This attack on Lancaster was a warning to other towns to hold themselves in readiness to repel attacks.

The savages were engaged at Westfield by Captain Allen, who lost a man, but killed three savages and recaptured a settler. On the trail between Hadley and Quabaug (Brookfield) one man was shot and another wounded.

By this, the country was up, and Major Tailor, calling out his troop, with Captains Prescott, Buckley, and Willard, set out in vigorous pursuit of the marauders; and they were so vigorously persistent in their scouring for the enemy that they drove them toward Groton and Nashua, where they killed Lieutenant Wyler and some others of the English. The settlers put up a good fight, by which the savages suffered, as was afterward asserted, in sixteen killed, with several others wounded.[1] After this the savages loitered among the woods of Amesbury, Haverhill, and Exeter. They appeared at both York and Oyster River at the same time.

[1] It was on October 25, 1704, thirty savages made an attack on Groton. A man by the name of Davis was killed. Samuel Abbott Green, the historian of Groton, gives a graphic account of the savage raids on Groton, and the perils of the early settlers, in his *Sketch of Groton*.

Vide, also, Willard, *Sermon*, *Three Historical Addresses* (edited by Green), p. 93; also, Green's *Groton*, *Historical Series*.

Referring to the efforts of Messrs. Townshend and Leverett, from Massachusetts, and Gold and Levinston, of Connecticut, in their embassy to the Five Nations in the interests of neutrality, as the French had sent some Jesuit priests among them to the better attach them to the French influence, the English commissioners having been successful, Penhallow, commenting on the policy of the government, remarks naïvely: "In the war there seems a secret league between them [the Dutch-English of New York] and the Governor of Canada not to suffer the least breach to be made on one another by any of their Indians."

While these matters had been transpiring the French had found the maintenance of so many English captives a burden, and were willing to arrange for an exchange. To that purpose, Samuel Hill, the same who had been carried away early in the attack on Wells, was sent to Boston by the French, to arrange an exchange, his family being held hostage in Canada for his fidelity.[1]

On Hill's arrival at Boston the government at once despatched commissioners to Montreal with seventy French and Indians, but the French delivered only sixty in return. This was a manifest breach of faith, for which the French had no excuse.

[1]Samuel Hill was sent from Montreal on his mission to concert an exchange of prisoners by M. Vaudreuil, May 4, 1705.

Hill's letters laid the fault at the door of the Massachusetts Colony; that had the Massachusetts governor kept his word with the French, both himself and his family would have been given their freedom much sooner. In what direction the colonial government was derelict is not made clear by Hill. Bourne is inclined to believe that Hill was somewhat tinctured with the casuistry of the Jesuits. The Jesuits were persistent in their efforts to convert the English prisoners, and spared no argument or influence by which they might recruit their Church from the ranks of the heretics; for once a convert was made, few would imperil their souls by going back to the Puritanism of the English colonies.

John Williams's relation of the arts used by the Jesuits is suggestive. He was not only separated from his child, but from communication with other English prisoners, lest by his influence or exhortation he should obstruct their conversion to Catholicism. As for himself, he was well and courteously treated by the priests, who told him that when the converted Indians were about to go on the Deerfield raid they were enjoined to baptize all children before killing them, so great was the desire of the Church for the salvation of their heretic enemies. He was promised, upon his adopting the Catholic faith, and his promise to remain among them, not only untrammeled freedom of movement and intercourse with his captive

neighbors, but a royal pension which would enable him to live comfortably. He remarks upon the anxiety it caused him to look upon the seductive influence brought to bear upon the younger captives, with whom they were more or less successful. These young people were coaxed, bribed, and threatened without stint, dragged to mass, and even whipped, for what the priests called their contumacy.

The Jesuits were suavely gentle where soft words were most efficacious, and much tender consideration was shown the young girls, especially, who were sent to the convents and given good education for the times. It was the rule, to accomplish these conversions, to separate the families. Williams's boy became a Catholic; but it was a rugged road to conversion he made under Father Meriel of St. Sulpice, for it took a whipping to bring him to make the sign of the cross, after which, to get him to attend mass, he was dragged to the altar, feet foremost, by four stout Catholic lads.

It may have been for the reason that the French and the Jesuit priests were loth to surrender what to them seemed to be good material for conversion that led to the complaint of Samuel Hill that the English did not get back as many prisoners as they sent; it may have been because of the practice of the savage captor taking his human prey to his wigwam, unwilling to part with this sort of plunder until he was satisfactorily recompensed; nor could

the French interfere, and keep their allies in good nature.[1]

The commissioners from Deerfield managed to get a release of five captives, after a long stay and much importuning. They were a daughter-in-law of Sheldon, the same Hannah who got a sprained ankle in the leap from the garrison window; Esther Williams, John Williams's oldest daughter; Ebenezer Carter, and two others. Not long after, Baker, Nims, Kellog, and Petty, four young men, broke away from Montreal and reached the English settlements in the latter part of June, spent and emaciated with their long and perilous journey.[2]

Courtemanche went along with Sheldon, with a small escort of eight soldiers; and after reaching Deerfield this French officer went on to Boston,

[1] "But the Jesuits and Friars had by this time so influenced the Governor, as to cause him to break his word of honor, pretending, that as the Indians were independent and a free born people, that he had no power to demand any captives of them; when at the same time they were so much in subjection and vassalage unto him, that they never formed an enterprise without him, neither did they dare to attempt it without his knowledge."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 39.

[2] For an account of the efforts of Ensign John Sheldon, of Deerfield, to obtain a redemption of the captives taken in the raid of February 29, 1704, on that settlement, *vide* Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., pp. 324-350.

For various accounts of individual captivities, *vide ibid*, pp. 350-368.

INDIAN WARS OF NEW ENGLAND

VOL. III.

where he was entertained by the elder Dudley. When he went from Boston it was by sea, and Samuel Hill and Captain Vetch went along with him, for the purpose of getting somewhat more liberal conditions of exchange than heretofore, with but few captives being released upon these latter negotiations.

It was during this winter of 1705 that Colonel Hilton started out, with two hundred fifty men, twenty of whom were friendly Indians, for the Kennebec. They went on snow-shoes and the season was not unfavorable, although Belknap records that the snow was four feet deep, and they made the march without incident. When they came upon the Norridgewock settlement the Indians had, as usual, decamped, and no mention is made of any trail to indicate in what direction they had gone. Hilton found wigwams and chapel deserted, and there was nothing for him but to set these shells of bark afire, and return as he came. Belknap mentions that the officers on this expedition drew only privates' pay, of which they complained.

This incident is mentioned by Penhallow[1] as an offset to the destruction of the Ralé settlement. A Montreal party fell in with "an express" sent to Colonel Patrick. The messenger had fifty pounds in his pocket with which to purchase snow-shoes for the frontier service. The fifty pounds were

[1] Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 38.

shifted from the pocket of the English "express" into those of the French marauders, who, carrying it to Canada, presented the treasure to the governor, who ran the coin through the melting-pot to have it come out a handsome bowl, which was humorously dubbed the "New England Gift."[1]

During this spring the English sent "Capt. Laraby" upon a cruise along the coast of Acadia. It is most probable that this is the same man who defended the fort at Cammock's Neck (Black Point) nearly two years before. He was to prowl among the French fishermen. Captain Fowle was also sent in a war-sloop, who captured a small craft in the neighborhood of Cape Sable, which the French had sometime before taken from the English. The vessel was laden with cattle and sheep; but of their disposition no mention is made. A call was made at "Port Rosua" (Rossignol, probably), where five Frenchmen were taken; also at La Have, where three more were captured. At the latter place some houses were burned and some cattle were killed.

The Acadians were rather willing prisoners, such was their poverty and desperate condition. During the winter of 1704–05, the French and Indians had apparently withdrawn their campaign from the eastern New England border to make a disastrous diversion against the English settlements of New-

[1] Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 38.

foundland, where the French, under M. Subercase, and the savages, under Assacumbuit,[1] ravaged the southern settlements, falling on St. John, where outside of the fort the inhabitants were captured to a man, one hundred forty being taken to Canada, besides those butchered, of whom no account is given. The snow lay to a depth of six feet, and the cold was intense, and the miseries of the captured were hardly less from exposure than from hunger. After the attack no quarter was given at first, and only the intervention of Subercase prevented the utter annihilation of the English. Afterward the place was given over to a vengeful destruction. The fort was invested, with the intention of starving

[1] "But of all the Indians that was ever known since King Philip never any appeared so cruel and inhumane as Assacambuit, that insulting monster, who by the encouragement of the French, went over to Paru, and being introduced to the king, lifted up his hand in the most arrogant manner imaginable, saying, 'this hand of mine has slain one hundred and fifty of your Majesty's enemies within the territories of New England,' &c. Which bold and impudent speech was so pleasing to that bloody monarch, that he forthwith knighted him, and ordered eight livres a day to be paid him during life; which so exalted the wretch (having his hands so long imbrued in innocent blood,) as at his return, to exert a sovreignty over the rest of his brethren, by murdering one, and stabbing another, which so exasperated those of their relations, that they sought revenge, and would instantly have executed it, but that he fled the country, and never returned after."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 49.

it into a capitulation, and for thirty days Captain Moody and his forty men in the fort, and Captain Lotham and his twelve men in the castle, looked out upon a horde of yelling red devils, who were only biding their time when they could glut anew their wolfish thirst for blood and rapine. Moody refused all offers of surrender, but sent among the enemy scores of bombs from their mortars, so that several of the enemy were killed, the English suffering a loss of only three men.

Unable to compel a surrender of either fort or castle, Subercase pulled off his men and left St. John to its deeps of snow and ruined cabins.[1]

When the spring of 1705 opened, the savages were skulking once more among the woods to the east of the Piscataqua River. They appeared at Spruce Creek (Kittery), where they killed five set-

[1] "It was on the 21 January, this year, that the English settlements at Newfoundland were attacked by the French and Indians under M. de Subercase. Rev. John Pike in his *MS. Journal*, says that the attack was made by a strong party of French and Indians [Penhallow says, five hundred fifty; Charlevoix, four hundred fifty] on Sabbath night, and that they 'destroyed all excepting the forts. They cut off about seventy families, sparing none save a few young men, that were fit for service. They afterwards besieged the fort at St. John's for divers weeks but could not take it.' Pike, *MS. Journal.*—Penhallow, in *Coll. N. H. Hist. Soc.* i. 44, 45.—Holmes, *Annals of America*, i. 492, who quotes Charlevoix, *Nouv. France*, ii. 298, 299. *Univ. Hist.* 155."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 170, note.

tlers and captured as many more. Mrs. Hoel was killed, and Enoch Hutchins lost his wife and children. Some three weeks later John Rogers was wounded seriously, and James Toby was shot. They captured a shallop, in which they were somewhat encouraged by a French privateer that had picked up seven prizes along the adjacent coast, which were taken into Port Royal. One of the sloops, however, was retaken by Captain Harris at Richmond's Island.

At New Castle was Fort William and Mary. There had been some dispute on the part of the Massachusetts government as to being obliged to contribute to the keeping of the fortification in repair, but Queen Anne ordered Dudley to undertake this charge, as the river belonged to both provinces. Massachusetts urged that the fort was New Hampshire property; but the dispute was kept up, notwithstanding the Queen's order. New Hampshire repaired the fort, and the knot to the Massachusetts purse-strings remained untied.

It was during this summer that Massachusetts devoted herself mainly to relieving the colony of its French and Indian prisoners, finding the charge of their keeping burdensome, as well as in answer to the importunities of those who had relatives in Canada. This had a tendency to give to the frontier some degree of quiet, though a party of savages swooped down on Cape Neddock, October 15, 1705, where they surprised and captured four of

Storer's children, who happened to stray unwittingly outside the garrison gate. One of the savages was killed, and in return the savages tomahawked the youngest child on the head, while Bourne supposes another to have been most cruelly tortured.

With these minor incursions going on Portsmouth was under nightly patrol from Rendezvous Point as far as Hampton,[1] to prevent surprise on the water side, the French in their privateers having once or twice appeared about the Isles of Shoals and along the coast to the eastward. With the Kittery assault, the October raid on Cape Neddock, and the savage incursions of 1705 in the neighborhood of Wells, the gruesome tale was closed for that year.

It had been the policy of the French at Montreal to attract the eastern Indians to that place permanently. Many of the savages whose aboriginal haunts were in the near vicinity of the New England frontier had been incorporated into the tribe of St. Francis, and in that way they had become permanent residents of Canada. The French, having them in such close proximity, were the better able to direct them when bloody work was to be perpetrated along the frontier of the New England settlements. They could be more readily mobilized and despatched

[1] "This line extended from the mill-pond on the south, to the creek on the north side of the town. It crossed the main street a few rods westward of the spot where the State House [in Portsmouth] now stands."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 170, note.

against the heretic. There was less possibility of their being tampered with by the English.

Dudley's agents kept him fairly well informed of the movements of the French, and as the winter came on he was apprehensive of the French activity. He kept a scouting-party on a monthly cross-country patrol that ranged from Kingston to Salmon Falls; but the winter went with an ominous quiet.

April 26, 1706, the savages made their first appearance at Oyster River. There were not many of them, but they surprised an outhouse where they killed eight and wounded two others. The garrison was near-by, but its inmates were all women; but they set their wits to work, and, loosening their hair, they put on the hats the men were wont to wear and began a fusillade of musketry that would have done credit to a platoon. The savages ran for the shelter of the woods. John Wheeler fell a victim to his carelessness; for, taking the Indians to be friendly, despite the noise of the guns, he came up with them and was shot; also his wife and two children. Four of his sons hid in a hole under the bank of Little Bay; and though the savages gave chase to them, they got away.[1]

Two days afterward a Mr. Shapleigh, with his

[1] "This outrage occurred on the 27 of April. On the fourth of June following, George Ricker and Maturin Ricker, of Cocheco, were slain by the Indians. George was killed while

son, was passing through Kittery. The father was shot. The son they carried along with them to Canada, venting their cruelty on the lad at different stages of the journey by biting off the ends of his fingers with their teeth, to afterward sear the bleeding stumps with their hot pipe-bowls.

On June 1 a French privateer appeared off the coast. One Walker was sailing his craft from Connecticut, laden with provisions. The wind was fresh and his tub was bowling along moderately when a strange sail gave chase, to gain so rapidly upon him that after the first shot over his bows, being not far from the shore, he beached his craft, and, getting to land himself, he sent out an alarm which was so promptly answered that by the beat of the drum, in a few hours, a force of one hundred well-equipped men had responded. Manning two sloops, under command of Major Wanton and Captain Paine, they set sail for the privateer, and the next day had captured her, with thirty-seven men.

The privateer was under command of Captain Ferrel, bound for Port Royal. It may be noticed here that the next year (1707) the English cut out a four-gun sloop from Placentia Harbor, with a crew

running up the lane, near the garrison. Maturin was killed in his field, and his son, a boy, was taken captive. Pike's *MS. Journal.*"

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 171, note.

of forty-nine men, which at the time was considered a great exploit.

About this time Captain Rouse, of Charlestown, fell into great discredit. He had been sent to Port Royal with a flag of truce. There were numerous English captives at that place. After long delay Rouse returned, bringing but seventeen of his countrymen. He was suspected of carrying on some contraband trade with the French, which was increased with his second voyage to Port Royal, when he returned with but seven. Nothing more than local gossip over the matter resulted — a passing ebullition of harsh criticism.

In July, Colonel Schuyler, of Albany, notified Dudley that a force of two hundred French and Indians were on their way to the Piscataqua River. He had his knowledge from the Mohawks, who came to his trading-house. Dudley, acting on the information, sent expresses to the frontier and ordered close garrison duty, with one-half the militia to be held subject to a moment's notice.

The savages first showed themselves at Dunstable, July 3, 1707. In the Dunstable garrison were twenty horse troopers. With the usual sense of over-security, no watch was set, and the gates were wide open.[1] Before the laggards realized the

[1] "They had been ranging the woods in the vicinity, and came towards night to this garrison; apprehending no danger, turned their horses loose upon the interval, piled their arms

situation the savages were in their midst, and had killed fully one-half their number.

From here they went to the house of Daniel Galusha. He kept them off for a short time, but, losing his courage, he surrendered. With the selfishness common to people whose loyalty is dependent upon their personal interests, and holding his duty to his neighbors still more lightly, Galusha

and harness in the house, and began a carousal, to exhilarate their spirits after the fatigues of the day. A party of Indians had lately arrived in the vicinity, and on that day had designed to attack both Wells' and Galusha's garrisons. One of their number had been stationed to watch each of these houses, to see that no assistance approached, and no alarm was given. A short time previous to the approach of the cavalry, the Indian stationed at Wells' had retired to his party, and reported that all was safe. At sunset, a Mr. Cummings and his wife went out to milk their cows, and left the gate open. The Indians who had advanced undiscovered, started up, shot Mrs. Cumings dead upon the spot, and wounded her husband. Then they rushed through the open gate into the house, with all the horrid yells of conquering savages, but stared with amazement on finding the room filled with soldiers merrily feasting. Both parties were completely amazed, and neither acted with much propriety. The soldiers so suddenly interrupted in their jovial entertainment, found themselves called to fight, when entirely destitute of arms, and incapable of obtaining them. The greater part were panic-struck, and unable to fight or fly. Fortunately, all were not in this sad condition; some six or seven courageous souls, with chairs, clubs, and whatever they could seize upon, furiously attacked the advancing foe. The Indians who were as much surprised

informed the enemy of the state of the garrison, whereupon the latter began anew their attack upon the troopers.

Among the latter was a lad, who, with an affrighted soldier, got out of a rear window, leaving one man to sustain the defence, which he did with a desperate courage for some time; but, realizing that he was fighting against overpowering odds, he

as the soldiers, had but little more courage than they, and immediately took to their heels for safety; thus yielding the house, defeated by one quarter their number of unarmed men. The trumpeter, who was in the upper part of the house at the commencement of the attack, seized his trumpet and began sounding an alarm, when he was shot dead by an Indian on the stairway. He was the only one of the party killed.

"The savages, disappointed in this part of their plan, immediately proceeded to Galusha's, two miles distant; took possession of, and burnt it. One woman only escaped. Had the company at Wells', armed and immediately pursued, they might probably have prevented this disaster; but they spent so much time in arming and getting their horses, that the enemy had an opportunity to prepetrate the mischief and escape uninjured.

"The woman above mentioned, when the Indians attacked the house, sought refuge in the cellar, and concealed herself under a dry cask. After hastily plundering the house, and murdering, as they supposed, all who were in it, the Indians set it on fire and immediately retired. The woman in this critical situation, attempted to escape by the window, but found it too small; she however succeeded in loosening the stones till she had opened a hole sufficient to admit of her passage, and with the house in flames over her head, she forced

endeavored to make his escape after the fashion of the others. He was overtaken by an Indian, but managed to loose himself from his captor, to make a good escape.[1] The garrison being deserted, the savages burned it.

The day following, the savages were in Amesbury. Dudley's precautions, so far, had not availed much at Dunstable. No more did they at this latter place, for they killed eight settlers here. Two men, at their work in a field, hearing the uproar, hastened to the assistance of their neighbors; but upon discovering the Indians in force, ran as fast as they

herself out, and crawled into the bushes, not daring to rise for fear she should be discovered. In the bushes she lay concealed until the next day, when she reached one of the neighboring garrisons.

"Cumings, at Wells' garrison, had his arm broken, but was so fortunate as to reach the woods while the Indians were engaged in the house. That night he lay in a swamp in the northerly part of what now constitutes the town of Tyngsborough, about one quarter of a mile west of the great road as it now runs, and a few rods south of the state line. The next day he arrived at the garrison near the residence of the late Col. Tyng. *Farmer & Moore's Collections*, vol. II. pp. 303, 304."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, pp. 43, 44, note.

[1] "Joseph Kilburn and Jeremiah Nelson of Rowley were killed by the Indians at Dunstable, 10 July 1706, and John Pickard was mortally wounded, and died at Billerica, on the 5 August following."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 172, note.

could to a deserted house which had two flankers.[1] Here they found two muskets, neither of which was serviceable, and which, had they been the best in the world, were useless without powder and ball (and they were without these); but they put on the bravest face possible and, thrusting the rusty muzzles through the port-holes, they raised a great outcry between themselves: "Here they are, don't fire until they get nearer!" And so the enemy ran, as usual once a white man laid his cheek along a gun-barrel.

From Amesbury the savages went to Kingston. At this place they killed some of the herds, and about the time they were committing these depredations they ambushed Jo English,[2] a friendly

[1] "Wells garrison, which was in the southerly part of Dunstable, N. H. about half a mile from the state line, near James Baldwin's house, on a place known by the name of the Blanchard farm, east of the great road to Boston. Galusha's, was about two miles south-west of this, on Salmon Brook, at a place formerly called Glasgow, on which Henry Turrell now lives."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 45, note.

[2] "Jo English, as he was called, was much distinguished for his attachment to the white inhabitants. In a preceding war with the Indians, he had been taken prisoner from the vicinity of Dunstable and carried to Canada, from whence, by his shrewdness and sagacity, he effected his escape, with one English captive, and returned to his friends in Dunstable. The Indians had for a long time endeavored to retake him, and he was peculiarly obnoxious to them; and at the time

Indian. A man and his wife kept him company. The man and the woman were captured, but the former afterward made his escape.

On July 8 five savages, in the edge of dusk, attacked a house in Reading. A woman and her eight children were surprised. They butchered the woman and the three youngest of the children. The other five they carried off. One of these was for some reason incapacitated, and unable to keep up with the savages. One of them gave the child a blow on the head with a tomahawk, and, supposing they had killed their victim, they left it in an adjoining swamp, where the child was afterward found alive. The people in the vicinity, taking the alarm, got together, and the next morning set out in pursuit of the Indians. Coming upon their trail, they pressed them so hard that they recaptured three of the children; and so terrified were the Indians that they dropped their plunder and, as well, the remaining captive.

After this success the Reading men returned to their houses; but once they had retired the savages swerved to the westward, until they had startled the

above mentioned, while he was accompanying Capt. Butterfield and his wife on a visit to their friends, they pursued him, and just as he was upon the point of gaining a thicket, they shot him through the thigh, which brought him to the ground, and they afterwards despatched him with their tomahawks."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 45, note.

people of Chelmsford, Sudbury, and Groton, where, in the latter town, they waylaid three soldiers as they were going to church, killing two and capturing the other.

After the raid on Dunstable, Major Hilton, with sixty-four men, marched from Exeter; but the savages had flown. The reason, however, that Hilton gave for his abrupt return was that he had no provisions. It was by law incumbent on the towns to have such stores ready, and within immediate reach of the captains of the militia. For a similar reason he had called in a patrol he had for some time kept employed. But Hilton was a marked man among the savages. As they had adjudged Waldron and Frost to death, so they had Major Hilton. He was too brave and energetic to be left long unharmed, once he came within reach; and it was for the accomplishment of this purpose the savages had begun to lurk about his house, and to skulk in the vicinity of those places he was wont to frequent.

A band of French Mohawks were of this party, and they kept vigilant watch as to who went in and out. One morning ten men left the garrison. They had scythes, along with their guns. They were going to the meadow to mow the grass. They laid down their guns and began mowing. Unobserved, the savages crept through the tall grass so they were between the mowers and their guns. Then with a rush they were upon the white men. Four were instantly killed. Another settler was

wounded; three were captured; but Major Hilton was not of the number. Two of the captured men, Edward Hall and Samuel Myals, eluded their captors later, and escaped. After a perilous journey of three weeks through the wilderness, living upon lily-roots and leaves, and the bark of the trees, they got back to Exeter, more dead than alive.[1]

At Dover, William Pearl[2] and Nathan Tebbitts were shot. Belknap observes that in this year the greater damage was accomplished by roving parties of savages, who, scattering along the border, kept the settlers in a constant state of uncertainty. They were a singularly elusive quantity, and the

[1] Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 46.

"Rev. Mr. Pike says that three escaped, viz. Joseph Hall, John Taylor, who was 'sorely wounded, but recovered,' and one other. Those captured were Edward Hall, Samuel Mighill and a mulatto. The four persons killed were Richard Mattoon, Hubertas Mattoon, son of Richard, Robert Barber and Samuel Pease. The number of the enemy was about twenty, who attacked the English as they were mowing in a field, between Exeter and Lamprey river."

Ibid.

[2] "Rev. Mr. Pike says Nicholas Pearle. 'He was slain by the Indians in the day time in his cave, some miles above Oyster river, where he dwelt night and day, winter and summer, from the last breaking out of the war, precisely three years, though 'twas in the very wake and way where the enemy used to pass. He was a man of strange confidence and would not be persuaded to leave his place.'"

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 172, note.

English were seldom able to come up with them. Nothing could be accomplished against them except by way of surprise; and with their alertness it was difficult to cope with them, except to a manifest disadvantage. They fought from behind trees, stumps, and fences, and were usually most active at the time when the English slept the most soundly. Belknap estimates that every Indian killed or captured cost the colonies a thousand pounds.[1]

In the winter of 1707 Major Hilton set out for the eastward. He was to wait at Casco for the shallop which would be despatched with the stores for his company of two hundred twenty men. Hilton was not fortunate in the weather, for the season was exceedingly mild for winter and the skies unsettled; so he was unable to proceed to the extent of his interest, as would have been the case had the snow come dryer and lain deeper on the ground, which would have been more favorable to the troops, who were compelled to the use of snow-shoes.

Hilton had got as far as Black Point on his way back to Dover. Where he had been the chronicler does not say, which would have been something to the point.[2] Penhallow evidently does not regard

[1] Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 174.

[2] From whence Hilton returned Penhallow does not say. The store-ship chartered for Casco Bay is unaccounted for. This seems to be a trait of Penhallow, and one wishes he

this as important; for he briefly notes that it was in this vicinity that Hilton came upon the trail of the savages, which he followed so advantageously that he killed four, at the same time taking "a Squaw alive with a Papoose at her breast, which he preserved, and she was of singular service in conducting him to a body of eighteen who lodged on a neck of land: about break of day he surprised them as they lay asleep, and slew all but one whom they kept a prisoner: but it is strange to think by what

might have been less inclined to, as it were, schedule his data, as one would itemize a book-account.

The chronicler of this expedition, leaving so much in uncertainty, has in this particular, as in others, told his story without conferring much information, which seems to be a matter either of carelessness or lack of inquiry.

Hilton had evidently started out upon an important undertaking, else the sloop would not have been employed; and that they were returning was the natural if not always possible sequence of an incursion into a country infested by a pack of wolfish savages. The student of this sort of history wonders if the inclination to indulge in a ripple of *facetiæ* at the expense of these ancient chroniclers be not a wholesome falling from grace; for they saw or heard so little of what nowadays seems so indubitably necessary to the modern artist in prose, especially in a matter of dates, which, while they might not be exact to the day, would have assured one that they were actual happenings within the calendar. One is not even sure that in Penhallow's time the leaves of the trees and the grass were green, or any other color. Of course there were ruddy stains on a sky, otherwise blue or gray; and the reek of blood and smoke that always enveloped, like an aura,

winged mercury reports are often carried . . . and to my certain knowledge, on the very morning that Col. Hilton did this exploit, it was publickly talked of at Portsmouth on every article, and with little or no variation, although ninety miles distance."

It had become something of a common privilege to criticize one's superiors in office, and the assertion of Church was that he was not only prevented —in the expedition to the Basin of Minas already touched upon — from attacking and destroying

the approach of the French and their Indian allies clung to them like the mist about a mountain-top; but one sighs unconsciously for a better weather view, if it were nothing more assured than that prognosticated by some musty almanac. Once one gets over the threshold of events into the pages of our famous chronicler of Indian lore he is in a maze of happenings that are kaleidoscopic in their adjustment, if one goes by days, months, and years.

The writer has more than once felt the need of getting away from these dateless relations, which seem to have been followed without question or deviation by those who have come after Penhallow.

Church, Bourne, and Belknap have some affinity, however, for dates, which is refreshing. Directly in point is the relation of the fight at Massacre Pond, in Scarborough, where the famous Indian-fighter Hunniwell, and eighteen others, were ambushed and killed in the autumn of 1713. Parkman follows Penhallow in the relation of this incident, which he makes one of the happenings of 1703. The discrepancy is too wide to be passed over with patience by the investigator along these lines. It is too important an incident to be so carelessly recorded.

Port Royal, but that Governor Dudley had strenuously objected to this act of reprisal. Dudley excused the apparent laches on the ground that he had written to the English Ministry, and desired explicit directions in the matter of an increased navy. His critics accorded a less flattering reason to this manifest neglect to allow Church to improve so good an opportunity, and charged the governor with venalism; with carrying on clandestinely a contraband trade with the French at that place, to his immediate and considerable profit.

Such was a common practice among the colonial merchants in connivance with their skippers. So the reports grew, gaining credit as they were tossed about by word of mouth, until the call for some energetic action and a just carrying on of the war against the enemy compelled Dudley to exonerate himself by fitting out a new enterprise against the place. The matter had been investigated, and these malfeasances located and brought home to the actual participators in the illegal traffic; the latter were promptly prosecuted and fined, while Dudley escaped with only a smirch upon his reputation.

With the opening of the spring of 1707 all the settlements east of the Saco had ceased to exist; and none of the towns west and around the Piscataqua had escaped, at one time or another during this war, the inroads of the savages. This year was to be one of trial and endurance for the frontier. The farms had suffered from neglect, and the

larder of the settlers was scanty and oftentimes threatened with downright emptiness. To those who found their delight in tilling the soil, garrison life was becoming exceedingly irksome, and the element of discouragement was always begetting a keener edge to their anxieties. Hardly a family but had suffered from butchery or the loss of some one who had been carried off to Canada, and all about were the signs of untoward death and desolation.

It was early in the year (March 13, 1707) that another expedition sailed away from Nantasket, to arrive, a fortnight later, at the gut of Port Royal, where the troops, in three transport ships, five brigantines, and fifteen sloops, made a landing. There were two regiments, under command of Colonel March. The French retired to their fortifications.[1]

Subercase engaged the colonial forces in a slight skirmish, but was obliged to recall his men. He

[1] Penhallow, p. 50.

Belknap says the force was one thousand men, divided into two regiments; that they left Nantasket in twenty-three transports. Colonel Hilton commanded one, and Colonel Wainwright the other. They were convoyed by a Deptford man-of-war, under Captain Stuckley, to arrive at Port Royal May 26. June 6-7, on account of some disagreement arising among the officers, they got the men aboard the ships; and, with instructions to the masters of the vessels "to get home as best they could," this inglorious invasion of Acadia was over.

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 174.

Council Records.

had a horse shot under him. Holding a council of war, they determined upon some great accomplishment; but March not being equal to his opportunities, after some slight display of his troops, who found in the killing of some cattle and the burning of a few mills sufficient glory, they got on board their ships and set sail for Massachusetts, without having done more than make an ineffective demonstration, which, if it had been well persisted in, must have resulted in the ultimate capitulation of Subercase. There was a loud protest against the evident cowardice or chicanery of the officer of the expedition; and although another ship was ordered to be despatched to their help in this service, with two companies of soldiers, all these arrangements fell through.[1]

Some privateers sailed down to Port Royal, and some encounter was had with the French, who had been reënforced by the arrival of many of their Indian allies; so that while Major Walton, the

[1] "On the 23 June, this year, a petition, alleging various instances of misconduct in Governor Dudley was presented to Queen Ann at Windsor. The same petition was read before the general assembly of New-Hampshire, when the council and representatives in full assembly, *nemine contradicente*, voted that some of the charges were scandalous, unheard of, and false reproaches, and drew up an address to the queen in which 'they acquit and justify his administration from all those calumnies and pray her majesty's favor to him.'"

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 174, note.

field-officer ashore, showed what a small force of English could do on occasion, in putting the French to the run, he was unable to carry his success further. His loss was sixteen men, and as many more wounded.

It is a singular thing to record that all these efforts against the French settlements to the eastward were abortive. Nor did this diversion by sea have any effect to restrain the ravages of the Indians along the New England frontier; for on May 22 they were at Oyster River, where they captured two settlers.

On the twelfth of June following they waylaid a man at Groton, and shortly after they appeared in Kittery, where they annihilated the entire family of William Carpenter. On July 8 they came upon two men driving a cart from Dover to Oyster River, and killed them both; but they were unable to get away with their plunder, so quickly did Captain Summersby come upon them with his troops.[1]

Between Exeter and Kingston they hid in the bushes beside the trail, where Stephen and Jacob Gilman, happening along on their horses, had their animals shot under them; but the men escaped to the nearest garrison.[2]

[1] "John Bunker and Ichabod Rawlins, both of Dover. The enemy were supposed to be from 20 to 30. They slaughtered many cattle at the same time. Rev. John Pike, *MS. Journal.*"

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 175, note.

[2] "The first had his horse shot under him, and was in

Eight of the men stationed at the Kingston garrison (a new plantation) deserted, to be afterward apprehended and bound over to the Court of Sessions for "contempt of orders."

On August 10 the savages raided Wells, and a Mrs. Littlefield, coming from York with four others, was taken prisoner. She had two hundred dollars in money with her. Robbing her of the money, the savages killed her and those with her, excepting one man, who got into the woods and escaped.[1]

At Marlborough two men were working in a field, and it so happened that one was taken, and

danger of being scalped before he could get clear. The other brother had several shot through his clothes and one that grazed his belly; his horse also was wounded, yet he defended himself on foot and got into the garrison."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 52.

[1] "On the 18th of August, 1707, as two women in Northborough, Ms. were out a short distance from the fort gathering herbs, the Indians discovered and pursued them. One Mrs. Mary Fay got safe into the fort; the other, Mary Goodenow, a young and unmarried woman, was taken and carried over the brook into the edge of Marlborough, and there, a little south of the great road, and nigh to Sandy Hill, she was killed and scalped. The enemy were pursued and overtaken in what is now Sterling, where an obstinate engagement took place, in which John Farrar and Richard Singletary, were killed. The Indians at length fled, leaving some plunder and some of their packs, in one of which the scalp of Mary Goodenow was found."

Ibid, p. 52, note.

the other left. This latter, for all the Indians had surrounded the field, managed to escape. When he had alarmed the neighborhood the settlers got together for a chase, which grew so hot that the savages not only dropped twenty-four packs of plunder and provisions, but the body of the man who had fallen into their hands. In this encounter the settlers lost two killed and the same number wounded. On September 15 a man was shot at Exeter; and two days later, at Kingston, Henry Elkins met the same fate.[1]

These assaults, being of an isolate character, were apparently the work of savages of the New Hampshire tribes who had their wigwams about the Ossipee waters, and possibly near the head-waters of the Saco, within the foot-hills of the

[1] "At Exeter, one was killed near the meeting-house; and two days after, another at Kingston, but the most afflicting stroke that befel us this season was at Oyster River, where thirty French Mohawks, who appeared like so many furies with their naked bodies painted like blood, and observing some at work in hewing of timber, and others driving a team, they fell violently upon them with such hideous noise and yelling as made the very woods to echo. At the first shot, they killed seven, and mortally wounded another, upon which Capt. Chesly, (who had signally behaved himself in many encounters) with a few that were left, fired on them with great vigor and resolution, and for some time gave a check to their triumphing; but the enemy being too powerful, soon overcame him, to the great lamentation of all who knew him."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 53.

White Mountains. They were undoubtedly within a short journey of their habitats, and moved back and forth according to the influence of the moment. They were in this way able to elude the English successfully. The Pequawkets were closely allied to the Norridgewocks, and doubtless were in close communication with them, and it is not improbable that they may have joined with them, along with some of the Pennacooks, in these desultory roving attacks, from which none of the settlers were immune once they had left the shelter of the garrison-house.

Their next appearance was at Winter Harbor, on September 21, in one hundred fifty canoes. They made an attack on two shallops. In these were Captain Austin, Mr. Harmon, Sergeant Cole, with five other men, and a lad. The savages were allowed to approach quite near, when the men in the shallops poured a volley into their midst. The savages, recovering from this discomfiture, rallied to the fight, returning the fire so the English were willing to abandon one of the shallops — but let Penhallow finish the story in his quaint fashion: "by cutting their roads and lashings; and no sooner had they taken possession thereof, but they got their mainsail atrip before that our men could get up theirs half-mast high, and then put out their oars, which they joined with paddles on each side; but having no fargood, and their boat a dull sailor, ours gained on them so much, that they got twelve

or thirteen canoes ahead, with fishing lines to tow them. But a breeze springing up, and the enemy making too near the wind (for want of a fargood) came to stays several times, in so much that they fell a quarter of a mile astern. But the rest of the canoes kept on firing, and our men on them for a considerable time together. The only man we lost was Benjamin Daniel, who was shot through the bowels, soon after they came to sail; at his fall he said, 'I am a dead man!' yet recovering himself a little, added, 'Let me kill one before I die!' but he had not strength to fire.

"The engagement held about three hours, in which the English spent about five pounds of powder, and when the enemy ceased their chase, they had not above a quarter of a pound left. The Indians were so bold and daring, as to attempt to take hold of the blades of their oars, as they were rowing. The number of them that fell was then unknown, because of a continued cloud of smoke; but it was affirmed that nine were slain, and twice as many wounded."[1]

In Berwick, two men were shot as they were going home from church; but the savages were surprised, and upon being vigorously attacked, they dropped their packs and ran. In the packs were three scalps.

It was in this same year, on October 25, that five

[1] Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 53.

men of Wells, who were in the habit of procuring much of their food by fishing, went out in a small sloop after fish. A heavy surf was running. They attempted to drive over the bar, but the wind being close, they were overturned and all drowned. All were men Wells at this time could ill afford to spare, being, as Bourne says, "valuable citizens, and their aid was daily needed." So not only did they stand in peril of hostile Indians, but, as well, the dangers incident to their efforts to obtain a precarious subsistence.[1]

The remainder of 1707 was passed in quiet. The savages seem to have retired to their fastnesses, probably to gather their provisions for the winter snows, which would come with the November days. The settlers, through the remainder of the season, did not relinquish their watchfulness, but went about well armed in some numbers; while, scattered over the wide areas of undeveloped wilderness, small squads of savages still wandered, ambitious to add to their gory record of scalps.

There is no doubt that the settlers were reckless in their hardihood, going along the trails oftentimes singly; but, no doubt, through these constant exposures they had ingrained into their habits the color of recklessness. Danger had so long been

[1] Their names were, James and William Wakefield, Joseph Storer, Jr., Job and Moses Littlefield.

Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 266.

part of their existence that a thought of the hazard, or of the consequences of such apparent indifference to an ever-present peril, failed to deter them from the carrying-out of whatever purpose it seemed necessary for the time being to fulfil.

With the advent of 1708 Wells paid the first tribute to the skulking savage, when Lieutenant Josiah Littlefield and Joseph Winn, prominent in Wells, set out for York, on April 22. Going through the woods, they were ambushed and surrounded by a considerable body of the enemy. Littlefield was captured, but Winn, being very active and quick of wit, made his escape. Littlefield was a millman and an expert engineer. He was taken to Canada, and was allowed to write home occasionally. Some of his letters have been preserved. Bourne has incorporated some of them into his story of Wells. This writer notes that Littlefield made some efforts to ransom himself; but he was unable to fulfil his promises to his captors by reason of the red tape involved, the governor having taken a hand in the matter and peremptorily declined "to buy a prisoner of an Indian, lest we make a market for our poor women and children in the frontiers."

Littlefield, expecting to have been redeemed, had induced his Norridgewock owner to take him to Sagadahoc, but this action of the governor left him practically a prisoner of fate; four months later he was brought into Wells garrison by those who were at some pains to assure the English that they

then held no commerce with the French, who were much incensed that they should determine to surrender Littlefield without a ransom.[1] They asked for some supply of provisions, obtaining which, they went back to their lair on the upper Kennebec. After Littlefield's capture on the way to York, the Indians, for the remainder of the year, with the exception of the attack on Haverhill in August, were not openly aggressive.

The expedition of the French and Indians of the year before against the settlements in the Connecticut Valley having been a failure, an attack, in which the government at Montreal hoped for greater success, was planned against the Piscataqua border. The plan was concerted early in the year 1708, when the mustering at Montreal of the converts of the Jesuit missions in Canada began. It was not so easy to persuade the savages to engage in this enterprise, but Vaudreuil finally got his

[1] Littlefield was brought to Wells garrison in 1710.

"On the 18th of April, 1712, while teaming with others, he was shot down by the Indians, who still lurked about in the forest. Thus his earthly experiences were ended, to the great sorrow of many hearts. He had been a valuable citizen and an efficient man, on whose aid and counsel the people had placed much reliance. He was elected to municipal offices of trust and responsibility, was selectman several years, town agent, and captain of the militia. His death brought heavy affliction to all."

Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 274.

material well in hand, and the long journey over the wilderness trail was entered upon. There were four hundred in the party, about one-fourth of them being French. They were officered by Saint-Ours des Chaillons and Hertel de Rouville, the same who commanded at the massacre of Deerfield. For a better conduct of the expedition, the party was divided into three sections, as Parkman suggests, "for the sake of speed and secrecy."

Each division took a different route, and all were to come together at Winnepesauke Lake, where they expected to find the Abenake contingents from Penobscot and Norridgewock. A portion of one of Chaillons' divisions, made up of Hurons and Caughnawagas, being disturbed by certain omens and some sickness which broke out among them, renounced their purpose and returned home.

But the English had been warned. Dudley had received ample notice from Peter Schuyler, who got his information in the usual way; that is, from his Mohawk friends, to whom he sold muskets and some other commodity, by which their friendship was assured; and the Massachusetts Colony ordered renewed vigilance and the establishment of guards and patrols in the neighborhood of the most exposed places along the frontier, and in some of the more important settlements in both provinces.

Captain Robert Coffin patrolled the country from Cocheco to Kingston, and scouts were out in all directions. The shores were watched, boats being

kept coasting up and down the interval between Winter Harbor and Portsmouth Bay. Four hundred soldiers were posted among the New Hampshire towns. The towns were requisitioned for supplies and ammunition, and the preparations were regarded as complete to safeguard the settlements against any ordinary force the enemy might bring against them.

While these preparations were transpiring the hostiles were getting nearer their rendezvous at the lake. The Canadian forces had come in, and temporarily had gone into camp to await the coming of those who were to join them from Pequawket, Norridgewock, and St. Famille; but these latter allies were dilatory, for they had not appeared when Chaillons and De Rouville decided upon moving promptly, not on Portsmouth or Newbury, but against the smaller settlement of Haverhill, a cluster of houses perched above the turn of the Merrimac.

Here was a hamlet of less than thirty houses. Among them were a small fort and a church. In the distribution of the militia the larger part had been sent farther east, among the towns nearer the border, so the force stationed at this place must have been necessarily limited in number. Massachusetts's idea had been gained from Schuyler's rather vague reports; so that, while the point of attack was impossible to designate, yet the inference was that with such a force as the French were wont to take

along on these predatory excursions they would make some considerable town the object of their depredations. However, the English forces were inadequate for the service expected of them, as they were widely scattered, and there would be no possibility of mobilization for a prompt defence at any one point.

In Haverhill, accepting the French account (there is no English relation), there were thirty soldiers in the fort, and some others who had found quarters with some of the settlers. The savages, according to their usage, made their advance on the town just before daybreak. They got by the garrison watch and into the center of the town, where the attack on the houses of the settlers was simultaneous. Taken by surprise, as they were, the settlers made a prompt and sturdy resistance. They kept up a hot fire upon the French, and their savage allies. Some of the enemy were fighting and others were applying the torch. An attempt to set the church afire was not successful, some of the settlers extinguishing the blaze that had been kindled against the outer wall. Houses adjacent to the church were burned. The English were rallied under Major Turner, Captains Price and Gardner, and the fight was kept up bravely. Here and there the English went down. The minister was killed, bravely defending his house. His wife and one of the children were killed, also. Two other children —both girls, of six and eight—were carried to safety

by the house-servant, whose name was Hager, and is assumed by Parkman to have been colored; but upon what ground is not given. She pushed them into the obscurity of the cellar, where she tumbled a tub over each, and so they eluded the savages, who had scoured the premises for them.[1]

[1] "About this time, eight hundred French and Indians were forming a desperate design against us, but on a division among themselves, fell short of the mischief they designed us. However, one hundred and fifty, on August 29th, at break of day, fell on Haverhill, and passing by the garrison got into the very center of the town, before they were discovered. They attempted to fire the Meeting-House, and after that, did burn several houses near it. Major Turner, Capt. Price, and Capt. Gardner, were happily there at that time, and rallied together what forces they could; but most of their men being posted in remote garrisons, were unable to assist them. However, with such as they could get together, they faced the enemy with much bravery, and in less than an hour, put them all to flight, leaving nine of their dead, and carrying off several that were wounded. But the slain on our side were thrice as many, by reason of the surprise that they at first were in; among whom, was the Rev. Mr. Rolfe, the worthy minister of that town, with Capt. Wainwright."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 55.

"Rev. Benjamin Rolfe graduated at Harvard College, 1684; was ordained in Haverhill, in Jan. 1694."

Saltonstall's *History of Haverhill.*

"Nescambiouĩt returned to America in 1707, and the next year accompanied Rouville to attack Haverhill in Massachusetts. The French had intended a much more formidable conquest, and had engaged bands of Indians from four na-

It was a fight that was soon over, but so deadly that of the settlers forty-eight were killed in one way and another, according to the English count. The French double the number, but the English should know best; for the drums began to beat, and the enemy were gone even as they came, in a mo-

tions to co-operate with them, and all were to rendezvous at Lake Nikisipique, as they called Winnipesauke or Winnipisiogee. But all except the Algonquins and Abenaquis under Nescambioũit, having failed and deserted them, they were on the point of abandoning their enterprise altogether. Having made known their situation to Gov. Vaudreuil, and requested his orders, he directed, that though all the Indians deserted them, they should not give over the expedition. Des Chaillons having communicated this intelligence to the Indians, they entreated him to lead them forward, and said they would follow him wherever he chose to go.

"From Nikisipique they marched, at last, with 200 men, fell upon Haverhill, and sacked it. The attack was made, sun about an hour high, 29 August, 1708. The contest was short as the opposition was feeble. The English lost about 100 persons by this irruption, 40 or 50 of whom were killed at Haverhill. Nescambioũit, in this affair, fought by the side of the commander-in-chief, and performed prodigies of valor with the sword which he brought from France.

"Having burned the fort and many of the buildings in the village, they began to retrace their steps, with precipitation. The English, having rallied, formed an ambush in the edge of the woods, about a mile and an half from the town, attacked them vigorously, killing and wounding many of them. In the ambush were 60 or 70 English, who, after hanging upon their flanks for near an hour, retreated. In this last affair the French suffered most. In both encounters, 18 men

ment. In their going they ran into an ambush, where they met so withering a fire that they dropped their packs and, breaking through the English lines, they ran the faster. Vaudreuil confesses to a loss of eight killed in this ambuscade, including two officers, Verchères and Chambly, and eighteen wounded, but asserts that all the English were practically wiped out, only a dozen being left of some sixty or seventy men. The English relation describes the French and Indians as scurrying for the shelter of the near woods, with all their luggage, including their medicine-box, leaving nine dead.[1]

After this, for the remainder of the season, the woodlands in the neighborhood of the settlements

were wounded, three Indians and five Frenchmen killed. In the ambush fell Hertel of Chambly, and Verchères, both officers of experience; and the renowned Assacambuit, as though, elsewhere, like Achilles, invulnerable, was wounded by a shot in the foot. This last attack had the happy effect of immediately restoring many of the prisoners."

Drake, *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 132.

Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. ii., p. 94.

Charlevoix.

Penhallow, in *N. H. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., p. 59.

Mirick, *History of Haverhill*, pp. 117-134.

Bancroft, vol. iii., pp. 215, 216.

As to second attack made shortly after, *vide Boston News Letter*, No. 233, September 27 to October 4, 1708.

[1] *Vaudreuil et Beauharnois au Ministre, 17 Novembre, 1704.*

Ibid, 16 Novembre, 1704.

Ramesay au Ministre, 14 Novembre, 1704.

were the lurking-places of roving bands of savages, stragglers as well as organized parties, and especially west of the Piscataqua.

A passive resistance seemed to be the government policy; and whether it arose from penuriousness, from lack of energy, from a disposition to avoid an aggressive warfare, with the entailed consequences of maintaining a standing army, or from lack of leadership, will never be known. It is sufficient for the annalist of the times and its people to note the supineness of Dudley, and especially of the Colonial Council, to which, possibly, the larger odium attaches.

In a way, the war, as carried on, was a senseless one; nor were the French altogether in sympathy with its barbarities. The Indians were under the domination of the French, and the latter had turned them over to the tutelage of the Jesuits, and it was to these latter one must look for the subtle frenzies that possessed the savages in war. By no stretch of justification were the Canadian French warranted in invoking the devilish atrocities committed by the savages, under Beaubassin, along the New England frontier of 1703.

When the story, with all its Gallic exaggeration and embellishment, reached the home government, Ponchartrain had a twinge of conscience, and he wrote: "It would have been well if this expedition had not taken place. I have certain knowledge that the English want only peace, knowing that the war

is contrary to the interests of all the colonies. Hostilities have always been begun by the French."[1]

There is some cause to doubt the sincerity of the French Minister, however. M. Subercase, the Acadian governor, writes a letter in which he glowingly describes the attack on Haverhill. M. de Chevry indorses the letter with: "*Ces actions de cruante devroient être modérées.*" Ponchatrain approves, by adding: "*Bons: les défendre.*" In 1707 the latter is commending Vaudreuil in his order to the Jesuit missionaries to urge the Abenake to make war on the English settler. The Minister was inclined to harass the English frontier to that extent that the colonies would find little time for excursions away from home; for there is no question that, given a leader and the disposition, the English could have made fairly short work with the pretensions of New France. One grows restive under the smug complacence of official Massachusetts and the grudging of those who made up the colony at large, so long as there are settlers enough to keep the savages at work along the frontier.

But at Deerfield and Haverhill the savage probe went deeper than ever, and Dudley began to urge

[1]*Résumé d'une Lettre de MM. de Vaudreuil et de Beauharnois du 15 Novembre, 1703, avec les Observations du Ministre.*

These indorsements of De Chevry and Ponchartrain are attached to a letter of Subercase of December 25, 1708.

a movement of the colony against Quebec; and yet, out of it all cropped the disposition to temporize.[1]

It has been noticed that Samuel Hill and Captain Vetch went to Montreal in 1705 to procure an exchange of captives. The governor's son went with them. Vetch carried along a letter from Dudley to the Canadian Governor Vaudreuil. It was a proposal that the colonies engage in a neutrality treaty. The latter was possibly in sympathy with the idea, but he made it dependent upon New York and the sister English colonies becoming a party to the compact, and the relinquishment by the English of all ancient fishing-rights within Acadian waters and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. There is no doubt that Vaudreuil appreciated the fact that both conditions were practically prohibitive. The first was extremely difficult to carry out, by reason of divers interests; and the last was unreasonable to the degree of a *casus belli*. It was

[1] It is evident that Dudley considered his personal interests paramount, which assumption is maintained by Parkman, who says: "If Dudley loved himself first, he loved his native New England next, and was glad to serve her if he could do so in his own way without too much sacrifice of his own interests"—which, after all, is saying very little in support of Dudley's patriotic inclinations.

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, p. 106.

Dudley's example seemed to be contagious.

Mass. Hist. Coll., Fifth Series, vol. vi.

New York Col. Docs., vol. ix., p. 805.

all a show of French diplomacy, the only effect of which was to hold back the savages while the negotiations were going on. As to the exchange of prisoners, nothing of an equitable adjustment was accomplished.

Although they were his next-door neighbors, Vaudreuil had yet to learn the temper of the English settlers. He had some knowledge of the ravages of his Abenake allies along the Piscataqua frontier and to the eastward, but the reports of the same were highly colored; and while he entertained the idea that the settlers were weary of his persecutions, and, if allowed, would accept his terms, whatever they might be, he was unaware of their desperate determination not to recede to the westward beyond Wells.

The home government had been advised of Dudley's proposal, and were favorably inclined; and while Vetch, as Dudley's representative, was possibly affording some ground for the suspicion that the latter was carrying on a clandestine traffic with the merchants of Quebec,[1] the latter was using his opportunity of surveying the approach by the St. Lawrence, with a view of turning his information to a more notable purpose; for Dudley's disposition against Canada was on the verge of tangibility.

[1] *Memorial of the Present Deplorable State of New England*, Boston, 1707.

The Deplorable State of New England, by Reason of a

In the autumn of 1708 he is urging the Massachusetts Assembly to undertake an aggressive movement. He writes, as early as November 26, 1704: "In the last two years the Assembly of Massachusetts has spent about 50,000 in defending the Province, whereas three or four of the Queen's ships and fifteen hundred New England men would rid us of the French and make further outlay needless." There was certainly nothing precipitate in Dudley's movement; for it was not until nearly seven years later that this warlike enterprise was undertaken.

After the Haverhill massacre some of the savages, lingering among the woods of Amesbury, captured James Hayes; one man was captured in the vicinity of Brookfield, while at Kittery Robert Read and David Hutchins were shot. Other than these inflictions upon the peace of the settlers, for the remainder of the season the savages seem to have lost heart, and the frontier had ap-

Covetous and Treacherous Governor and Pusillanimous Counsellors, London, 1708.

Modest Inquiry, Mass. Hist. Coll., Fifth Series, vol. vi.

Query to the Lords of Trade, January 10, 1708.

Bonaventure au Ministre, 30 Novembre, 1705.

Jeremiah Dummer, *Letter to a Noble Lord Concerning the Late Expedition to Canada.*

Council Record, Hutchinson, vol. ii., pp. 141, 144, 194.

Paris Documents, in Boston State-house.

New York Col. Docs., vol. ix., pp. 770, 776, 779, 809.

parently been deserted by them, as no further assaults are recorded in the year 1708.

While the settlers most fortunately had opportunity to make preparations for winter without interruption, they were not without their apprehensions — not so much, perhaps, because the savages had so singularly withdrawn from the frontier as that their attacks, like lightning from a clear sky, were unannounced; and where the blow was to be struck was no less uncertain, as the savage always took the path of least resistance in the accomplishment, though they were commonly acts of premeditation; and in their consummation they were no less rapid than they were subtle and ingenious. In the art of surprise the white man, compared to the savage, was an illiterate.

It was that same winter one hundred seventy men were got together, under Colonel Hilton, to campaign the wilderness. The snow was deep. Their destination was the Pequawket settlement, somewhere among the Conway meadows of today. They came upon "Amassaconty,[1] Pigwacket and other places adjacent; but they found nothing." It was a long march and a tedious one, and no doubt conducted with the usual militia fan-

[1]Penhallow is careless in his names. Amassaconty does not appear in any Indian place name dictionary at hand, either as a locality or a clan. Green (*Sketch of Groton*, p. 39) locates it as an Indian fort above Norridgewock, in Maine.

fare of rude familiarity. No doubt they talked and smoked and boasted, with some reason, of what they had done — but more unreasonably of what they were to do — as they spatted along on their snow-shoes. No wonder they did not find the savages — with a whiff of tobacco spinning along the forest aisles, a sufficient warning to set a whole Indian village on the move. As one reads the stories of the English method of trailing the savage, especially those of Church, one is inclined to the belief that, after all, an empty wigwam was regarded as infinitely safer than a full one; and it burned just as readily.

April 2, 1709, a band of savages came into the neighborhood of Deerfield. Mehuman Hinsdell was driving his cart along the outskirts of the village when the savages came upon him unawares, and for the second time he found himself in captivity.[1] It was possibly the same party that made a raid on Pickpocket Mill, in Exeter (May 8), where they captured William Moody,[2] two sons of

[1] *Vide* Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 367.

Hinsdell was the first white man born in Deerfield. He was first captured by the savages in De Rouville's raid of February 29, 1704.

Ibid, p. 368.

[2] "He was retaken within a month afterwards by some Deerfield men, who, in their course up French River, met with a body of the enemy in canoes, on whom they fired, and overset, killing and wounding several of them. In one of their

Jeremiah Gilman, and Samuel Stevens, while a few days later Bartholomew Stevenson was shot at Oyster River.

This same month John Burt and Lieutenant John Wells were killed in a slight skirmish in the neighborhood of Deerfield. Following these events, Colonel Hilton and Captain Davis were out scouring the country, while the settlers still hugged the fireside shadows of the frontier garrisons, as the rumor had gained currency that another warlike expedition was marching from Montreal toward the New England frontier; but the colonies were awakening to the purpose of an adequate reprisal.[1]

The colony had neither forgotten nor forgiven the fiasco of Colonel March, at Port Royal, the previous year; and it was the direct invasion of

canoes was William Moody with only one Indian with him. The English persuaded him to make his escape by killing his adversary. This he attempted to do, but overset the canoe in the struggle, and then swam towards the shore, and was met on the bank of the river, by several English who came to his rescue. In the meantime, a number of the enemy arrived at the bank, re-captured Moody, who was most inhumanly tortured by being fastened to a stake and roasted alive. His flesh was afterward devoured by the savages. Penhallow in *Coll. N. H. Hist. Soc.* i. 60, 61. Pike, *MS. Journal.*"

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 176, note.

[1] On May 8, 1709, John Shattucks and his son were killed near Groton, on the west bank of the Nashua River.

Green, *Groton Historical Series*, vol. iii., pp. 126, 127.

Canada that was now contemplated, to carry out which elaborate plans were being perfected. Meantime, Captain Wright had left Northfield, with a small party of English and two Natick Indians, for an adventurous expedition into the wilderness to the westward.

Getting within two days' march of Fort La Motte, they ran upon a band of French Mohawks. A sharp skirmish took place, each man taking his tree in the fight, in which two or three Mohawks were killed or wounded. The savages being driven to cover, they began their return journey up the French River. The Wright party had not gone far before they came upon some savages in canoes. Waiting until the latter had come within easy shot, they poured a volley into the huddle of canoes. One canoe was overturned. The English guns made havoc among the Indians, of whom several were killed outright, and many more were wounded. In one of the canoes were a white man and one Indian, and while the latter was giving his attention to Wright's party the white man, evidently a captive, answering the signs of the English to kill his captor, finally taking courage of his opportunity, knocked him over the head with a paddle, upsetting the canoe so both were thrown into the water. The white man struck out for the shore in the direction of the English, without once looking back to see what had become of the savage. He made the bank of the stream,

where he was pulled out of the water by Lieutenant Wells; but the savages, loth to lose their prisoner, came so close to the English that hardly had Wells got his man ashore than Wells fell under the fire of the savages. John Strong was wounded by this same volley. The white man was William Moody, one of the five taken captive at Pickpocket Mill, at Exeter. With the death of Wells Moody was again a prisoner. The savages, to make sure they would not lose him again, tied him to a stake and roasted him alive. Penhallow has it that after they had roasted Moody they ate him.[1] Wright's party gave up the fight after Wells had been shot, and made the best of a running fight. They all escaped but one, John Burt,[2] who was supposed to have lost his way, and so either fell into the hands of the pursuing savages or died of exposure.

On June 23 M. Hertel's son-in-law, Ravell, with about two hundred savages, came down the Connecticut Valley. They appeared before Deerfield; but the settlement was awake this time, and awaiting them. Their reception was so warm that after killing one settler and wounding another they swung off toward Brookfield, where they killed two

[1] Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 56.
Trumbull, *History of Northampton*, p. 498.

[2] Captain Benjamin Wright's scout, *vide* Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 369.

men. Veering around toward Wells, they came upon that place in the early autumn (September 5), where, as the sun was going down, they intercepted Joseph Titus, of Rehoboth, and one other, both soldiers, who were on their way from their garrison to make a call on some of their friends at the settlement. Titus was killed. The other was captured. The savages had but a short time before made a few captures at Winter Harbor, Saco, and York, but the killing of Titus marked the last appearance of the savages in Wells until the latter part of April of 1710. On April 29 they killed two men who were planting corn.

It is not within the scope of this relation of the savage wars that for almost a hundred years impoverished the New England frontier, both by the great destruction of life and property and the obstruction of colonial development, to follow in detail the operations of the colonies against Canada. A cursory glance at events must suffice.

The enterprise had been decided upon. Francis Nicholson, who had attained some prominence as Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, and Samuel Vetch, of Scotch descent, whose chief recommendation to notoriety lay in his having been among those fined by the colonial court for carrying on a contraband trade with the French, were the representatives of the colonies at the English Court. Vetch had traded much to the eastward and was well equipped with a knowledge of the

settlements along the Acadian coast-line. He was thus able to give to the British Ministry a very full account of conditions at that time prevailing in America, especially in that quarter.

They were successful. An expedition was determined upon. March 11, 1709, Vetch sailed for New England with orders from the Crown to the colonial governors to provide a sufficient force to coöperate in the reduction of Canada.

The Ministry promised a squadron of five vessels. Five regiments of regular troops were to accompany them. The colonies were to use promptness in filling their quotas: eight hundred from New York; two hundred fifty from Pennsylvania; three hundred fifty from Connecticut. They were to rendezvous at Albany during the month of May, ready to advance on Montreal by Wood Creek and Lake Champlain when the runner should come in with the news that the English squadron had dropped anchor in Boston Harbor. Twelve hundred men made up the quota allotted to Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. These were to be merged with the regulars in the attack on Quebec by the way of the St. Lawrence River. Vetch was returning with a colonel's commission; and Nicholson, by a commission from the Governor of New York, was to have the command of the expedition.

Despite all these possibilities, the *Dragon* — for it was this good ship that was weighted with the

martial fortunes of the colonies — buffeted her way across the Atlantic against head winds, nor did her anchor bury itself in the mud of Boston Harbor until about sunset of the twenty-ninth day of the following month (April). That night Vetch sent messengers with Queen Anne's letters of instruction to the Governors of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The Massachusetts Council met Dudley the following morning to receive the instructions of the queen at the hands of Vetch. It has been recorded as a jubilant occasion. The work began by laying an embargo on the vessels in port.

Means for the immediate raising of the colonial quota and the levying of supplies were set in motion. Nicholson and Vetch set out by water for New York. The voyage was one of despatch, and good fortune seemed to favor them, for it was not long before Nicholson moved up the Hudson River Valley, with fifteen hundred men, to build a fort near Saratoga, and another at the Great Carrying-Place, later known as Fort Edward. Nicholson was getting restive waiting for the news that the squadron had made Boston. Weeks grew into months, and still Nicholson was waiting, until his army was stricken with a debilitating ailment that swept the men off by scores. Some French who happened that way in the later autumn found only a field broken into innumerable mounds and shallow ridges, where the dead of Nicholson's little

army had been laid away to await the final roll-call of the great Hereafter.

The squadron which was to have reached Boston in May had not arrived; but the New England levies, with the transports and stores, were ready at a moment's notice. Vetch was fretting, and impatiently watching for the first sail above the horizon.

No ships came. Autumn came instead, and a letter from Sunderland, with the apology that circumstances had compelled the sending of the fleet to Portugal. Sunderland's letter of July 27 reached Boston October 11, and the colonial forces, so far as Nicholson's command was concerned, had melted utterly away. There was Vetch's command, which might still be useful, and it was proposed to go against Port Royal before the season closed. The naval arm of the service was against the proposition; but there was a blood-clot in the New England eye, and with the persistence which in later years made her people famous, she persisted in the Port Royal project.

This expedition, which promised so much in its inception, could but amuse the French in Canada once they had well gotten over their scare; and it was not until the next year, in September, that the five English frigates left Boston Harbor for the coast of Acadia. On October 5, 1710, Subercase capitulated and Vetch and the English walked into Port Royal, the name of which was

changed to Annapolis, over which Vetch was made governor.[1]

Having anticipated, we must now go back to the summer of 1709. Benjamin Preble, of York, had been killed, and shortly after that the New Hampshire province suffered an irreparable loss in the death of Colonel Hilton. The savages had been patient, and their waiting had brought its savage reward. Hilton was interested in the ship-masting trade. He was the owner of a lumber-tract some fourteen miles from Exeter, and, taking a crew of seventeen men, he went to the mast-lot and superintended the felling of the trees. That being done, his men were barking the huge timbers, preparatory to leaving them to season out. It was July 22, while the men were busy at their labor, that the savages were able to approach without discovery, being aided by the tops of the fallen trees cutting off the view of the axe-men into the deeper woods; and the latter were surprised. No guard had been set, and the savages rushed in upon the men, capturing two and killing three.[2] Hilton was one of those shot at the first fire. Those

[1] Nicholson's *Journal*, *Nova Scotia*, *Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i.

[2] "The same day that Colonel Hilton was killed, a company of Indians who had pretended friendship, who had been peaceably conversant with the inhabitants of Kingston, and seemed to be thirsting after the blood of the enemy, came into the town and ambushing the road, killed Samuel Winslow and Samuel Huntoon; they also took Philip Huntoon and

unharmed were not able to defend themselves, their guns being wet and therefore useless. It would seem that the savages were satisfied with the death of the man who had so many times escaped their plotting, and except for the three killed, and the two captured, the others escaped.

Hilton, dead, was no longer to be feared, and the butchering red devils, after scalping their victim, beat out his brains with their hatchets and stuck a spear into his heart, to leave it there.[1]

Jacob Gilman, and carried them to Canada; where after some time, they purchased their own redemption by building a saw-mill for the governor after the English mode."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 64, note.

[1] "Colonel Hilton was about 39 years of age. He was descended from two of the most distinguished fathers of New England. His father, Edward Hilton, who was son of Edward Hilton, the first settler of Dover, married Ann Dudley, born 16 October, 1641, who was daughter of Rev. Samuel Dudley and Mary Winthrop, the son and daughter of governors Thomas Dudley and John Winthrop. Col. Hilton married Ann Wilson, of Exeter, who, after his death, married Capt. Jonathan Wadleigh, and died 8 March, 1744. The children of Col. Hilton were five daughters and one son, Winthrop, who was born 21 Dec. 1710, five months after his father's death. He married widow Wiggin, originally Martha Weeks of Greenland. Their children were, (1.) Winthrop, of Newmarket, who was killed by the fall of a tree in January, 1775, (*N. H. Gazette*) leaving children, Andrew, Winthrop, Sarah and Ichabod; (2.) Ichabod, who died in March, 1822, aged 82, and whose children were, Winthrop, of Newmarket, Susanna and Ann. There is a valuable memoir of Col. Hilton in the

The next morning a hundred men went out to find the savages, who had disappeared temporarily, as it appeared later. No savages were discovered, but they came upon the body of the soldier with the spear in his heart. One of the three victims was buried where he fell. The other, with Hilton, was borne out of the woods and into Exeter, where, after a solemn and mournful service, the latter was buried with the honors of war.

A few days later the savages appeared in the roads about Exeter, where they captured four children who were engaged in some childish game, along with John Wedgewood, all of whom were carried to Canada. John Magoon lived in Exeter. One night he dreamed that he was being slain by the savages at a designated spot not far from his brother's barn. He related this dream to the neigh-

Collections of Farmer and Moore, for 1822, vol. i. 241-251. At the close of it, it is said, 'the colonel, respected and lamented by all who knew him, was buried with the honors due to his rank and character, in his own field on the west bank of Lamprey river beside his American ancestors, where several of his descendants of four generations have since been gathered around him. A cluster of wild rose bushes grows rank over his grave, and the inscription on his moss-covered monument shows when a brave and good man died, and where the remains of him who sincerely loved and faithfully served God and his country, have long since mouldered into dust.' Dudley Hilton, a brother of the colonel, was of the party, and was never heard of after the attack."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 178, note.

bors, and, stricken with a morbid sensing of impending danger, he began to frequent the place, where, very shortly after, he was, in fact, shot by the savages.

This was followed by a raid on Waterbury, where they killed three settlers, to which number they added another at Simsbury. Then they went to Brookfield and Marlborough, where they shot the post going to Hadley. At Chelmsford they surprised and mortally wounded Major Tyng.[1]

On August 2 a party of about fifty French and Indians made their way into the vicinity of Winter Harbor. Watching their opportunity, skulking among the brush in the edge of the woods that bordered this settlement, they shot two women

[1] "Major Tyng was wounded by the Indians between Concord and Groton. He was carried to Concord and there died." Allen's *History of Chelmsford.*

"On the 20th July, 1710, six men, Ebenezer Hayward, John White, Stephen and Benjamin Jennings, John Grosvenor and Joseph Kellogg, were making hay in the meadows, when the Indians, who had been watching an opportunity to surprise them, sprang suddenly upon them, dispatched five of them, and took the other, John White, prisoner. White spying a small company of our people at a distance jumped from the Indian who held him, and ran to join his friends; but the Indian fired after him, and wounded him in the thigh, by which he fell; but soon recovered and running again, he was again fired at, and received his death wound. This was the last mischief done by the Indians at Brookfield." Whitney's *History of Worcester*, p. 72.

and captured two men, one of whom, Pendleton Fletcher, had been three times captured by the savages. He was soon ransomed by the Winter Harbor garrison. Fletcher's Point is still one of the landmarks of the Fletcher family.

The next week the enemy came in larger force, and, being made bold by their increase in numbers, they made an assault upon the settlement, killing three and taking six captive. One of their victims they skinned, out of which gruesome trophy they made themselves girdles.[1]

We now come to the last foray along the New Hampshire frontier in the year 1710. Jacob Garland was going home from Cocheco meeting-house, where he had been attending service. He was waylaid in the woods and shot.

Winter was at hand. As was his custom about this time of year, Colonel Walton, with one hundred seventy men, made a tour of the clam-flats along the eastern shore. It was a season when the savages came down from the woods to gather their supply of bivalves. The place where Walton pitched one of his camps was an island. They built a fire, and some Indians, discovering the smoke, and thinking it to be made by some of their own people, came thither and were promptly made prisoners by Walton's party. Among the captives were a Norridgewock sachem and his wife. The

[1] Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 65.

sachem was questioned as to the whereabouts of other Indians who were suspected by Walton of being in the vicinity; but the sachem, surly and insolent in his bearing, was silent except when he laughed at Walton's assurance that his refusal meant death to him. His squaw was more amenable; for when the preparations for the execution of this bold sachem had been made she offered the desired information, by which the English secured three savages at one of the places she had named, along with two more at Saco River, where five other savages were killed. This adventure of Colonel Walton's was considered highly successful, and, as Belknap says, "kept up the spirits of the people."

With the snowfall came a season of uninterrupted quiet, which was a very grateful release from the anxieties that had now for six years dogged the heels of the settlers. Many of the New Hampshire Indians had become residents of St. Francis Mission, and the Pequawkets had become weakened by loss of fighting-men.[1] They were alike being diminished in numbers by sickness and lack of food, in which their more eastern neigh-

[1]Penhallow says: "Their number at first (among the several tribes) were computed four hundred and fifty fighting-men from Penobscot, westward, they were now reduced to about three hundred, which made the old men weary of war, and to covet peace."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 66.

bors were better off; as, with the exception of Colonel Hilton's expedition to Norridgewock in 1705, the latter were able to cultivate their crops of maize undisturbed, under the frugal inspiration of their Jesuit priest, while two or three winter expeditions had been made to Pequawket.

This inaction was not due to lack of instigation by the French. Through their priests they were instant in season and out of season in their continual urging of the savage upon the war-path, and it was brought home to the colonies that there would be no peace until Canada and Nova Scotia had become English and the pernicious Jesuit influence had been removed from the country of the Abenake. Nova Scotia was under English domination, but that influence was too remote to be a check on the continued labors of Ralé among the Norridgewocks, and those of Thury and L'Auvergat among the Tarratines. It is not certain that Bigot was on the Kennebec at this time, though he may have been. Whether he was or was not did not so much matter, as the Norridgewock mission was on the same stream, a canoe-ride of a day above the Ticonic Falls, so that Ralé was within easy distance.

Of these expeditions of the French and Indians out of Montreal, considering the long journey required through the wilderness, Canada could not have regarded the last excursion against the English frontier settlement as of marked success. Can-

ada itself was isolated from the English by the natural barriers of a pathless wilderness separated by chains of rugged hills,— a condition easily reversed from the French point of view,— and these invasions of New Hampshire and the Connecticut Valley had been accomplished by the French only by the most indomitable hardihood. But what the Canadian savages were to New England the latter was to the settlements along the Acadian shore, which could be easily reached by sailing-vessels; and it was thereabout that Massachusetts was able to commit most of her acts of reprisal in the destruction of property and the replenishment of her stock of prisoners, by which those captured about Wells and westward were able to be redeemed.

The French government could never disabuse itself of the idea that the far-away English along the western harbors of Maine were a menace to her prestige in the New World. This was the underlying principle that imposed upon the English settler the inhumanities of his aboriginal neighbor, who was no less imbued with the idea — almost wholly of French origin — that the design of the English was to ultimately dispossess him of his wilderness.

The impotent ambition of the French was the reduction of Boston. France even thought her capable of being corrupted from her English allegiance, and a Frenchman was sent to Boston

for that purpose; but the scheme of La Ronde Denys was as chimerical as the influences that lay behind the movement were ignorant and misdirected.

But the aborigine was not to be allowed to forget the English heretics — as if these had not already been sufficiently, almost too thoroughly, remembered in their previous devastations; for little was left east of the Piscataqua River for them to further despoil. True, there were some garrisons left in Wells still tenanted by the English, but their condition was most precarious. It is a marvel that they held their ground so long as they did. Every moment was a hazard of peril. Yet the men and women of those days were constantly exposing themselves, probably out of what they considered a necessity.

The men went about armed with muskets; but there were the shadowed woods that made every step along the trail one of danger from an unseen and unheralded enemy. The people were poor, and provision for the family was a matter of urgent need. As the unequal war went on they were stripped more naked of their possessions, and it was the taking of the hazard or submitting to a lingering starvation if these footholds were not to be abandoned.

So they went into the fields and wrought, always under a cloud of uncertainty; they plowed and planted, and here and there one and another paid

the penalty.[1] Even the land was not sufficient for all their wants. There was the taking of the trail into the larger settlements; and the return; and there was a rejoicing if the journey had been safely made. Life went on the same in the garrisons. The young married.[2] Children came. There were rude festivities, even music and dancing,— for these Wells folks were not Puritans,— and over the scene was the sense of insecurity; for the savage remembered the teachings of the Jesuits only too well.

The savages came almost with the birds of 1711. On their way to New Hampshire they stopped at Winter Harbor, where they captured Corporal Ayers,— and Penhallow relates that he was almost at once released, without injury,— after which they went into the garrison with a flag of truce, where they made some professions of a desire for peace. From this place they kept on to Cocheco, where they found Thomas Downs and three more at work in a

[1] "They used the land nearest to the garrisons, but this was not sufficient to satisfy their demands. In the year 1708, to meet in some measure the necessity for farm labor, the town granted liberty to Benjamin Gooch, William Larrabee, and Thomas Wormwood, to till the highway four rods wide, which ran on the north-east side of Capt. John Wheelright's farm, at the eastern end of the town. Here they were in sight of and under the protection of the garrison, and the road was of but little use while the war continued. Such were the straits to which our fathers were reduced."

Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, pp. 275, 276.

[2] *Ibid.*

field. These they killed; and a day or two after being the Sabbath, they went into ambush near the meeting-house, and as the people were going home they killed one and wounded another.[1] The savages came very near capturing one other man, but were prevented in this, those assaulted having fired their guns, which brought back those who had gone on some little distance before, who hastened to the relief of their neighbors at the first alarm.

The savages were at York next. There they shot one settler and disabled another, who succeeded in making his way to the garrison, where he related a singular story, the proofs of which he bore on his person. They were fishing at one of the ponds, and undoubtedly the sport was good, as five savages were able to steal upon them so easily as to take them by surprise. The man who regained the garrison had been struck down by a tomahawk, and while retaining his knowledge of what they were doing to him, he remained quiet while they tore his scalp from his head, afterward wounding him in the neck with a knife. His self-control saved his life, at the expense of his scalp.

April 29, they had made their way eastward into Wells,[2] where they came upon two men working in

[1] Belknap.

[2] Bourne relates the following experience of John W.

a field. So busy were they at their corn-planting that the savages, creeping along by the fence, were able to kill them with their guns.

After the assault at Cocheco Colonel Walton

Wheelright's colored serving-man, Sambo. Wheelwright's garrison was one of the most important in Wells.

"Wheelright had a good many cows; these were sent to pasture a small distance from the house; and to save trouble and exposure when going for them at night, the gate was left open, so that they could return of their own accord; but on going to the yard in the evening they were not found there. No attempt was made to find them till morning, when Wheelright finding that they had not returned, ordered his slave, by the name of Sambo, to look them up. Some of the company were confident that the detention of the cows was the work of the Indians; but Wheelright replied that there were no Indians within fifteen miles. Much confidence was reposed in his opinion; he was, however, deceived in his calculations. The enemy had been in the pasture, and knowing that some one would come after the cows at night, had closed the gate, hoping to secure a prisoner. According to orders, Sambo went in search of the cattle; but he had no sooner reached the gate, than he fell into the hands of the Indians. They had three other prisoners and started at once for Canada. Sambo was loaded down very heavily by the traps which they carried with them, all being put on his shoulders. It was a sad hour in which he was thus cut off from a return to Massa Wheelright; and the thought of traveling to Canada with such a burden did not impress him very favorably. The Indians, too, had an inveterate hatred of the negro, and his life, he knew, would not be very precious in their sight; but to help him a little, the Indians provided him with a good pair of moccasins. Thus invested, he traveled off with the company

called out two companies of the militia and struck out for Ossipee and Winnipiseogee, where the Indians resorted much for their fish and game; but they found only some deserted wigwams. Penhal-

in the direction of Mousam mill. He kept up pretty well, but not having much sympathy with his companions, or very lively anticipations of a visit to Canada, his thoughts were rather more personal than companionable. His wits had been sharpened by the experiences of life, and he was revolving in his mind some scheme for severing the forced connection between him and his red masters. He traveled along very patiently, till they were about coming to the Mousam River, when, being apparently somewhat fatigued, he lagged a little. Under the burdens which he had upon him, the Indians had no apprehensions of his attempting an escape; they set fire to the saw-mill, and went on their way till dark, when Sambo, being somewhat in the rear, suddenly dropped his burden, and with 'consummate skill' though without much regard to prescribed tactics, beat a hasty retreat. Having run about a mile, he climbed a tree, and concealing himself among its branches, there awaited further developments. The Indians were soon in pursuit, and passing the tree, in a little while came back again without having seen him. Sambo, knowing the danger of immediately trusting himself again to the race, remained ensconced in the top of the tree till morning light, when, feeling assured that the Indians would not dare to remain longer in the neighborhood, he left his hiding-place, and returned to the garrison. Stepping up to Wheelright, he lifted his foot, and, in answer to his ejaculation, 'Sambo! where did you come from?' replied that he had had a new master, who had made him a present of the moccasins, which he thought was pretty good pay for his day's adventure."

Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, pp. 277, 278.

low is of the idea that the main body of the savages had made their way to Canada; that the later depredators were "only a few cut-throats [left] behind," which kept the country in a constant alarm.

A woman had ventured too far from the Wells garrison. She came upon some savages and turned to run, but was overtaken. They stripped her scalp from her head and left her for dead, but, waiting until the savages were out of the way, she managed to crawl into a potato-hole in a near-by field, where, drawing her apron over her head, she remained through the night. In the morning she made her way to the garrison, afterward to recover fully.

Near-by the "house of the late Judge Wells" lived a man by the name of Simpson. A babe had been born to his wife, "who was then in bed with her babe by her side." Simpson was away. Two savages came into the house, and, after braining the babe, they scalped the mother. The nurse concealed herself in a run of alder-bushes close by and thus escaped.

So elated were the colonists with the capture of Port Royal that Nicholson, soon after, went to England to interest the Ministry in an expedition against Canada. He found the Tory advisers of Queen Anne ready to fall in with the proposal, and, having accomplished his errand with such celerity, he took passage for Boston, June 8, 1711.

He was the bearer of instructions to the more northern colonies to make good their quotas, with such provisions and supplies as might be needed in the campaign, which was to be undertaken immediately upon the coming of the fleet and the English troops.

England was remarkably prompt, in this one instance; for the English contingent arrived while the colonial governors were in council as a committee of ways and means. They found a full compliance with the orders brought by Nicholson impossible, for lack of time; yet, by the most strenuous effort, aided in great degree by public sentiment which reflected the desires of the colonists, there were raised and equipped two regiments, under Nicholson and Vetch.

Of the English, there were seven regiments of Marlborough's veterans, a battalion of marines, which, joined with the New England forces, made an invading army of sixty-five hundred fighting-men, reënforced by a fine park of artillery. The fleet was made up of fifteen ships of the line, carrying from thirty-six to eighty guns, forty transports, and six store-ships, of which Admiral Walker had command.[1]

July 30, 1711, the fleet sailed out of Boston Harbor on its way for Quebec. Following the usage

[1] "The fleet consisted of nine ships of war and two bomb ketches, with about sixty transports, store-ships, hospital-

established by the so-called Long Parliament in war-time, Dudley set apart the last Thursday of each month as a day of fasting and prayer in the Massachusetts Colony for such time as should be required to conquer Canada.[1]

On August 18 the fleet was in the Bay of Gaspé. In the St. Lawrence River, for several days beset by thick fogs, the night of August 23 came in with a rough easterly gale thick with a driving rain. Before the English realized the situation they were among the breakers and hidden reefs of Egg Island, where they were threatened with instant disaster. Before morning eight transports had been smashed on the rocks and nine hundred officers and men had been drowned.

ships, and other vessels, British and provincial. They carried the seven British regiments, numbering, with the artillery train, about fifty-five hundred men, besides six hundred marines and fifteen hundred provincials; counting, with the sailors, nearly twelve thousand in all."

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, p. 169.

"The above is drawn from the various lists and tables in Walker, *Journal of the Canada Expedition*. The armed ships that entered Boston in June were fifteen in all; but several had been detached for cruising. The number of British transports, store-ships, etc., was forty, the rest being provincial."

Note to Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, p. 169.

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 180.

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 64.

Hutchinson, vol. ii., p. 190.

[1] *Council Records.*

Discouraged, the season being late and the bad weather still prevailing, the fleet reversed its movement and put down the river, for eight days beating its way slowly in the teeth of a gale that blew from the eastward, to finally make a rendezvous at Cape Breton Island. So the expedition turned out worse than a failure. The English ships sailed away to England, while the colonial troops returned to Boston. At Spithead the admiral's ship was blown up. This *accident* was providential, in view of the charges made of incompetency of the conduct of the expedition. In the destruction of the flagship the admiral's records had shared the fate of the vessel.

The untoward results following such brilliant prospects dealt a severe blow to the hopes of the colonies; it afforded a corresponding encouragement to their enemies, and the Indians began anew to harass the New England frontier in April of 1712.[1]

The savages appeared at Exeter April 16, where a settler by the name of Cunningham was killed on the road from Major Hilton's to Exeter. At Dover Ensign Tuttle was shot; also Jeremiah Cromwell at Oyster River. On this same stream, higher up,

[1]It was in this month that Captain Thomas Baker left Deerfield, with thirty men, upon a scout in the direction of Cowass. For an account of this expedition, see relation of "Livet" Childs.

Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 379.

a sawmill with a considerable quantity of lumber was destroyed. Between York settlement and Cape Neddock, Samuel Webber was shot. Over in Wells they came upon some teams in charge of the settlers. These they attacked, killing Lieutenant Littlefield[1] and two others; wounding as many more. After that they came into Wells village, where they captured two of the settlers and got away with them. Over in Kittery, at Spruce Creek, they butchered a boy and captured another.

On May 14 some thirty French and Indians appeared in the vicinity of Cape Neddock, where they surprised a small party of English as they were making their way to that headland. In that skirmish Sergeant Walton was shot, and seven others were captured. The rest of the party retreated to a rock which gave them some support, where they kept their position until relieved by Captain Willard. In the meantime a scouting-party of fifty English that went up the Merrimac had returned, having killed eight savages and reclaimed some considerable plunder, as Penhallow says, "without the loss of one man."

On June 1 of this year the savages were again

[1] Lieutenant Littlefield was killed April 18, 1712. He had been ransomed but a short two years before, after much delay and haggling on the part of the savages. He was at that time one of Wells's most valuable citizens.

For an extended account of Josiah Littlefield, *vide* Bourne, pp. 267-274.

hovering about Kittery. They shot John Pickernell while he was in the act of fastening his door to go to the garrison. They wounded his wife and tomahawked a child and scalped it. The child lived.

Two days later they were in Amesbury; afterward, at Kingston, where they shot at and wounded Ebenezer Stevens and Stephen Gilman. They got Gilman, who was afterward actually butchered to his death. At Newichawannock they killed one settler, and on July 18 they captured Wheelright's serving-man Sambo, whose story has already been related in a foot-note.

At Dover they lay in ambush for the people as they came from church. A party was sent out after them, but without result. At the same time they came upon the Heard garrison,[1] where they captured two children. Not having time to scalp them, they cut off their heads, which they took away with them.[2] At the time none of the men were at home, but Esther Jones hastened to the "watch-box," crying out, "Here they are! Come on! Come on!" which so impressed the savages that they withdrew, and the garrison was not further disturbed. Brave Esther Jones!

It was supposed the enemy were scattered over the province of New Hampshire in numerous par-

[1] This was the old Waldron garrison.

[2] Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 76.

ties, but the soldiers under Captain Davis were constantly vigilant, and much mischief on the part of the marauders was thus prevented.[1] Before the Peace of Utrecht had been announced in the colonies John Spencer and Dependence Stover (Storer) had been killed, and a French sloop from Placentia, with forty-five French and Indians, had appeared off the coast. This sloop was discovered by Captain Carver, who gave chase and captured her.

The final exploit of the year happened in Wells, at the garrison of John Wheelright. It was on the occasion of the marriage of Elisha Plaisted and Wheelright's daughter Hannah. This was made the occasion of much festivity. Wheelright had a wide acquaintance, and the invitations to the wedding were many. Some came from as far west as Portsmouth; some from more distant points. Some came by trail and some by water. Hannah Wheelright was eighteen — a comely girl — and Plaisted

[1] In July of this same year (1712), Gray Lock, with twelve Indians, swooped down upon Springfield. They captured Benjamin Wright, of "Skipmuck," and captured two others, — Benjamin Barrett, of Deerfield, and William Sanford, a Connecticut soldier. This was the last raid along the Deerfield Valley during Queen Anne's War. Sheldon says that in this war Deerfield's loss was sixty-one killed, nine wounded, and one hundred twelve captured, altogether. In Hampshire County one hundred nineteen were killed, and one hundred twenty-five captured.

History of Deerfield, vol. i., p. 384.

was older. He was a stalwart fellow, and must have been of good parts to have satisfied a man of Wheelright's cast of mind.

The marriage had been consummated and the guests were going. Two who went for their horses came into the garrison to report that their animals were missing. No one seems to have thought the savages might be lurking in the vicinity; but such was the case, for, outside, in the dark of the night, the garrison was surrounded by some two hundred savages. They had taken the horses, and the ruse was successful; for no sooner had the guests announced the singular disappearance of the animals than John Downing, Isaac Cole, and Sergeant Tucker made a sortie among the horses outside; but they had not gone far before the two former were killed and Tucker was captured. The report of the guns outside the garrison was the first notice its inmates had of the proximity of the Indians, and, unaware of the number of the enemy, Captains Robinson, Lane, and Heard, with John and Robert Plaisted, Philip Hubbard, Joseph Curtis, Lieutenant Banks, and Elisha Plaisted,—the bridegroom,—and some others, rushed out into the darkness, and, each seizing a bridled horse, started in full chase after the Indians, first directing a small detachment of a dozen men to cross the field to prevent the savages from getting away. From any point of view, it was a rash maneuver; for they rode directly upon the guns of the Indians, who gave them a

volley. Robinson was shot off his horse; several had their horses shot under them. Elisha Plaisted was captured alive. The others got back to the garrison. The English then mustered the company. There were seventy, and they went out to give battle to the savages; but, owing to the natural difficulties of the situation, little was effected. The loss, when the firing ceased, was one of the English and one of the savages killed.

Lieutenant Banks went out with a flag of truce to see how much it would cost to restore the husband to his wife. He was met by Bomazeen, Captain Nathaniel, and another of the savage sachems. They were unwilling to make any terms just at that time, but promised to be at Richmond Island with their captives in five days, when they would hear what the English had to offer. With this the savages decamped in some haste.

At the Wheelright garrison were the companies of Captains Harmon and Lane. Those of Willard and Robinson were sent to Wells; but it was too late.

Some criticism has been made upon the foolhardy methods of these Indian-fighters, who should have realized the great odds against them in the dark; but Lieutenant Banks has stated that the fray took place in the morning, which would seem to make the act even more reprehensible.[1]

[1] "The first tidings received from Plaisted were contained in the following letter written to his father, without date:

"'Sir. I am in the hands of a great many Indians, with

Penhallow says that not long after the capture of Plaisted the news of the Treaty of Utrecht was announced at Portsmouth (October 29, 1712), and a suspension of hostilities was proclaimed. The Indians, being aware of the peace, sent in a flag of truce to Captain Moody, at Casco, desiring that a conference might be appointed at that place, to agree upon Articles of Peace; but the governor designated the place as Portsmouth, and it was there they met on July 11, 1713. Articles of Agreement were executed[1] and a new interval of peace was

which there is six captains. The sum that they will have for me is 50 pounds & thirty pounds for Tucker my fellow prisoner in good goods, as broadcloth and some provisions, some tobacco, pipes, Pomisstone, stockings, and a little of all things. If you will come to Richmond's Island in 5 days at farthest, for here 2 hundred Indians, and they belong to Canada.

"'If you do not come in 5 days, you will not see me, for Captain Nathaniel, the Indian, will not stay no longer, for the Canada Indian is not willing to sell me. Pray, Sir, don't fail, for they have given me one day, for the days were but four at first. Give my kind love to my dear wife.

"'This from your dutiful son till death,

ELISHA PLAISTED.'"

Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, pp. 280, 281.

Plaisted was afterward ransomed for three hundred pounds, according to the relation in the *Mass. Hist. Coll.* Bourne questions this, as Plaisted's letter does not support the statement, this annalist doubting if there was so much money in all Wells at that time.

[1]The conference met July 11, 1713, at Portsmouth. At-

assured; but how long that interval might be was only a matter of circumstance.

The final tragedy of this war remains to be noted as occurring upon an autumn morning of 1713, some two months after the Peace Conference at Portsmouth.

During the eleven years of Queen Anne's War Scarborough was a rendezvous for the savages.

tending, were three delegates from St. John's; three from Kennebec; the same number possibly from the Indian settlements at Pennacook, Amasacontee, Norridgewock, Saco, and adjacent places. The annexed Articles of Peace were agreed to:

"Whereas, for some years last past, we have made a breach of our fidelity and loyalty to the crown of Great Britain, and have made open rebellion against her Majesty's subjects, the English inhabiting the Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and other her Majesty's territories in New England; and being now sensible of the miseries which we and our people are reduced unto, thereby; we whose names are hereunto subscribed, being delegates of all Indians belonging to Norridgewoc, Narahamegock, Amasacontee, Pigwacket, Penacook, rivers of St. John's and Merrimack, parts of her Majesty's provinces of the Massachusetts Bay, and New Hampshire, with her Majesty's sovereignty, having made application to his Excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq., Captain General and Governor in Chief and over the said provinces, that the troubles which we have unhappily raised or occasioned against her Majesty's subjects the English, and ourselves may cease and have an end; and that we may again enjoy her Majesty's grace and favor. And each of us respectively for ourselves, and in the names and with the free consent of all the Indians belonging to the several places and rivers aforesaid, and all

During the second settlement one of the settlers had begun to build on Winnock's Neck; but at the desertion by the settlers of this section with the outbreak of 1690 his house was unfinished. Winnock's Neck is a sightly bit of arable land in the midst of the marshes, and this incomplete shelter became a gathering-place for the savages, where they held, at times, high orgies.

other Indians within the said provinces of the Massachusetts Bay, and New Hampshire, hereby acknowledging ourselves the lawful subjects of our sovereign lady Queen Anne, and promising our hearty submission and obedience to the Crown of Great Britain, do solemnly covenant, promise and agree with the said Joseph Dudley, Governor, and all such as shall be hereafter in the place of Captain General and Governor in Chief of the said provinces and territories on her Majesty's behalf, in form following; that is to say, that at all times forever, from and after the date of these presents, we will cease and forbear all acts of hostility towards all the subjects of Great Britain, and not offer the least hurt or violence to them or any of them in their persons or estates; but will henceforth hold and maintain a firm and constant amity and friendship with all the English, and will never entertain any treasonable conspiracy with any other nation to their disturbance: that her Majesty's subjects the English shall, and may quietly and peaceably enter upon, improve and forever enjoy all and singular the rights of land and former settlements, properties and possessions within the eastern parts of said provinces of the Massachusetts Bay and New-Hampshire, together with the islands, inlets, shores, beaches and fishery within the same, without any molestation or claim by us or any other Indians; and be in no wise molested or disturbed therein; saving unto the Indians their own ground,

Among the settlers of the period was Charles Pine. He was a famous hunter of this section, and had gained the reputation among the savages of being a man of great courage, whose bullets always sped true. At that time the cabins of the settlers were strung alongshore from Blue Point to Spurwink, many of them being on Pine Point, where our hunter had some considerable possessions.

One spring day the savages came about their

and free liberty of hunting, fishing, fowling, and all other lawful liberties and privileges, as on the eleventh day of August, in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred and ninety-three: that for mutual safety and benefit, all trade and commerce which hereafter may be allowed betwixt the English and the Indians, shall be only in such places, and under such management and regulation, as shall be stated by her Majesty's government of the said provinces respectively.

"And to prevent mischiefs and inconveniencies, the Indians shall not be allowed for the present, or until they have liberty from the respective governments, to come near unto any English plantations or settlements on this side of Saco River.

"That if any controversy or difference happen hereafter, to and betwixt any of the English and the Indians for any real or supposed wrong or injury done on the one side or the other, no private revenge shall be taken by the Indians for the same, but proper application shall be made to her Majesty's governments upon the place for remedy thereof in due course of justice; we hereby submitting ourselves to be ruled and governed by her Majesty's laws, and desire to have the protection and benefit of the same.

"We confess that we have, contrary to all faith and justice, broken our articles with Sir William Phips, Governor in the

usual time to begin their nightly "powows." Pine was inclined to interrupt their hilarity. It was his habit to take two guns along when he went on his hunts, discharging one after the other when well hidden in some kindly covert.

In the morning the savages were abroad. Early in the afternoon Pine left the garrison, and, working his boat up the Nonsuch until he had neared the ruin, he concealed his craft among the reeds of

year of our Lord God 1693, and with the Earl of Bellamont in the year 1699.

"And the assurance we gave to his excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq. in the year of our Lord God, 1702, in the month of August, and 1703, in the month of July, notwithstanding we have been well treated by the said governors. But we resolve for the future, not to be drawn into any perfidious treaty or correspondence, to the hurt of any of her Majesty's subjects of the crown of Great Britain; and if we know any such, we will seasonably reveal it to the English.

"Wherefore, we whose names are hereunto subscribed, delegates for the several tribes of Indians belonging to the river of Kennebeck, Ameriscoggin, St. John's, Saco, Merrimack, and the parts adjacent, being sensible of our great offence and folly in not complying with the aforesaid submission and agreements, and also the sufferings and mischiefs that we have thereby exposed ourselves to, do in all humble and submissive manner, cast ourselves upon her Majesty for mercy and pardon for all our past rebellions, hostilities, and violations of our promises; praying to be received unto her Majesty's grace and favor.

"And for and on behalf of ourselves, and all the Indians belonging to the several rivers and places aforesaid, within the sovereignty of her Majesty of Great Britain, do again

the stream, to make his way into the old cabin. Stowing himself comfortably among the shadows of its low roof, he patiently awaited the coming of the savage roisterers. Night had fallen; a whistle warned him of the approach of the Indians. Through a crevice in the roof he counted a score of redskins. Then he realized that he was single-handed, and three miles from his garrison. Con-

acknowledge, and confess our hearty and sincere obedience unto the Crown of Great Britain and do solemnly renew, and confirm all and every of the articles and agreements contained in the former and present submission.

"This treaty to be humbly laid before her Majesty for her ratification and further order. In witness whereof, we the delegates aforesaid, by name Kizebenuit, Iteansis, and Jackoid for Penobscot, Joseph and Eneas for St. Johns, Warrueensit, Wadacanaquin, and Bomazeen for Kennebec, have hereunto set our hands and seals this 13th day of July, 1713.
Signed, Sealed and delivered in the presence of us,
Edmund Quincy,
Spencer Phips,
Wm. Dudley,
Shad. Walton,
Josiah Willard,
&c.

Signum	Kirebenuit
Signum	Warraeensitt
Signum	Bomaseen
Signum	Wadacanaquin
Signum	Eneas
Signum	Iteansis
Signum	Jackoid
Signum	Joseph."

fident of his ability to raise a panic, he waited until two of the savages had advanced well within the door, when he fired his first gun, killing both; but before he could bring his second into position the savages were far away.

An hour after, Pine was at his garrison with the weapons of his victims. While others wondered at his audacity, he regarded the incident as an ordinary diversion.

An anecdote of Pine that has come down is that of some savages who were wont to gather on the beach between the Ferry and the Neck, where they indulged in many suggestively derisive attitudes. Pine, determined to make them withdraw to a greater distance, after directing the garrison to see that the savages did not cut off his retreat, went down to the beach before daylight, and, covering himself with some rock-weed, waited for the savages to appear. At the usual time they were diverting themselves with such gestures as seemed to their intellect as especially contemptuous of the English. One huge Indian had made himself unduly conspicuous, and, upon the moment separating a little from his fellows and turning his back to the garrison, began his uncouth gesturing. Pine, conceiving the moment auspicious, planted an ounce ball upon the precise spot indicated by the hand of the savage. Recovering from the surprise of this most unexpected attack, the Indians picked up the wounded gesticulator and made for the adjacent

woods, while Pine threw off his disguise and walked leisurely toward the garrison.

His companion of these days was "Dick" Hunniwell, "the Indian-killer." The latter was implacable in his hatred of the Indians. While on one of their forays against the Scarborough settlers they had gone to his cabin in his absence and had killed his wife and child. Regardless of all treaties, to Hunniwell an Indian was a savage butcher, who was to be killed at sight; and in point of this is the story of a night when the Blue Pointers were gathered about the fire of a clam-house[1] at what is now the Seavey Landing. Two Indians came in, it being in a time of peace. Leaving their guns against one corner of the room, they joined the white men by the fire.

Hunniwell came in later. Discovering the savages, he began to walk up and down the floor. Finally he came to the corner where the guns were. He examined them. Carelessly raising one of the weapons to his shoulder, he swept the muzzle about as if sighting an imaginary flight of birds. When

[1]Probably a cabin where the settlers stored and cut their fish-bait. It has for years been the occupation of many Scarborough fishermen to dig clams for bait for the Bankers, or fishermen who go to the Grand Banks for cod. These Scarborough clam-flats have become a source of profit. Clam-flats elsewhere about the creeks and inlets along the Maine coast have become, in the manner of their protection, a matter of State legislation.

the heads of the savages came into range the room was choked with gunpowder-smoke. The two savages lay upon the floor, dead. He is reported to have killed, upon another occasion, five Indians, with a single shot, on the shore of Massacre Pond. This he did with a gun named by him "The Buccaneer."

Once, when mowing beside the Nonsuch, he discovered Indians across the stream. He kept at his work; but the savages, discovering the mower to be the famous Hunniwell, and that he had left his gun beside a haystack some little way off, determined to capture him. One of them forded the river and, creeping toward the haystack, got the gun. Still creeping upon the unobservant mower, the savage rose close by his swath. "Now me kill *you*, Hunniwell!"

Instantly Hunniwell whirled the scythe in the air. The savage fired; but the gun being heavily charged, the ball flew high, and the recoil threw the savage on his back. Before he could get to his feet Hunniwell had decapitated his enemy, and, fixing his head on a pole, placed it in full sight of the Indians across the river, challenging them to come over and he would serve them the same.

The savages were afraid of Hunniwell, and they hated him thoroughly. Having been unable so far to accomplish their designs on the man, they one day came across his horse. Sticking the animal thick with splinters of pitch-pine, which they ig-

nited, they let the tortured beast go on the run, which but fanned the flames.

Now comes the tragedy. The Peace of Utrecht was sometime a fact—as had been for two months the Peace at Portsmouth. A party of twenty men left the garrison at the Neck to go out by Massacre Pond (Great Pond, then) after some cattle. The peace had been proclaimed and the presence of the savages was not suspected.[1]

The party straggled along carelessly. It was fine autumn weather, and peace had come to make their anticipations more agreeable. Hunniwell was ahead. He had nothing but a pistol. The others were unarmed. At the west end of the pond was a thicket of alders, and when Hunniwell and his party came to this place a rippling spurt of ruddy flame ran along the ragged edge of its verdure. A single man got back to the garrison with the news of the massacre. He had escaped an ambush of two hundred savages. When the force of the garrison went down to the edge of the pond they found the bodies

[1]The narrators of this event to the Rev. Mr. Storer, among whom was a grandson of Hunniwell, were positive that its occurrence was during the days of peace; therefore it could not have been in 1703, as is stated by Williamson. Mr. Williamson, and Sullivan, as well, are not to be regarded as infallible historians, especially as to matters of only traditional integrity.

For note on the massacre at so-called Great Pond, *vide* Southgate, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. iii., p. 148.

of the nineteen killed by that first savage volley. Hunniwell's body was horribly mutilated. They were consigned to one grave, which was dug near the spot, which to this day most singularly remains unknown.[1] The man who escaped said that soon after the party left the garrison some one asked Hunniwell why he had not taken his gun along. His reply was that if one were needed, he would take that of the first man killed.[2]

Thus ended Queen Anne's War, as it began, with an act of savage treachery.

[1] Efforts have been made by antiquarians to locate this common grave, and as the ground has been cleared human bones were at one time plowed up, but upon investigation they were parts of an Indian instead of an English anatomy. An Indian grave was found close by, with several Indian skeletons, with some Indian weapons, and some plates of thin copper. They are supposed to have been the remains of some Indians killed in the neighborhood in a fight led by Hunniwell.

[2] Many traditions of Hunniwell are extant in this vicinity among the older residents, descendants of those who knew the Indian-fighter personally. Across the water west of Winnock's Neck, in the edge of the woods, is a little one-story red house that is known as the Hunniwell house. It is said by some to have been built by the subject of this sketch, but the better opinion is that it was built by one of his descendants. Hunniwell's Christian name was Richard, and a Richard Hunniwell is said to have been the builder of this little old house, whose windows bear all the insignia of antiquity.

LOVEWELL'S WAR

LOVEWELL'S WAR

LOUIS XIV. had grown old and infirm, yet his abortive dream of the conquest of New England had not been dissipated by his reverses in the game of war. Peace was absolutely necessary to France, and France was the king. At the Treaty of Utrecht he was practically a suppliant. Tenacious of his Acadian possessions, jealous of the English occupancy of any portion of the Gulf of Maine, with the instinct of a huckster, this gambler in royal futures essayed to barter three of his most valuable West Indian islands for the integrity of the coast-line of New France.

His offer unavailing, he was willing to throw into the scales of the Anglo-Saxon the French rights of fishery along the Newfoundland shores, the last sop to the English war-dog. Peace was to be had at any price.[1]

After all his haggling he was able to keep, of all

[1] The king wrote his representatives at Utrecht: "It is so important to prevent the breaking off the negotiations that the King will give up both Acadia and Cape Breton, if necessary for peace; but the plenipotentiaries will yield this point only in the last extremity, for by this double cession Canada will become useless, the access to it will be closed, and the fisheries will come to an end, and the French marine be utterly destroyed."

Mémoire du Roy à ses Plénipotentaires, 20 Mars, 1712.

that stretch of Acadian shore, the merest foothold, — Cape Breton, afterward known as Isle Royale. Separated from his lost Acadia by Canso Strait, its position dominated the main entrance to the St. Lawrence waters. It was the strongest strategic point on the entire Acadian coast. To England, it was but a desolate rock in the sea; and if in her oversight she had dropped a stitch, it was only that France, with her lack of prophetic vision, might pick it up for Sir William Pepperrell, who was to use it later as a stepping-stone to an English baronetcy.

It was upon Isle Royale that the splendid fortifications of Louisburg were to be established. Here was a magnificent harbor, well adapted to the purposes of the French, which were still directed toward the ultimate absorption of the English colonies in America; for France was still scheming, in spite of her humiliations. To lose Acadia was the climax of her disastrous ambitions. Defeated from the moment she espoused the cause of the Stuarts, she found her energies exhausted, and France burdened with an immense debt, with nothing to show for it but a treaty which was even more favorable to her interests than she had any right to expect. As one writer notes, had the political situation in England been reversed France would have been stripped, not only of her prestige, but of New France itself. As it was, she lost the former, to keep the major portion of the latter.

The Treaty of Utrecht was hardly more than a truce, an opportunity for France, as it were, to get her "second wind." The fires of war had been raked as one would cover a hearth for the night; and while nothing but the cold, gray ashes of something that had been were apparent, beneath was a smother of flame that only awaited some careless hand to rake the ashes apart, when another war would blaze up anew.

Among these smouldering embers were the unsettled boundaries of the possessions of these rivals in the occupancy of North America, the undefined limits of Acadia, and the claims to the great wilderness of the limitless west, along the northern border of which, on Hudson Bay, the English controlled the fur trade practically in its entirety. These were enough; but the Abenake Indians, under the controlling influence of the French Jesuit, notwithstanding their apparent acceptance of the terms of the Portsmouth Convention (1713), were a constant menace to the advancement of New England interests. The French claimed the Abenake as an ally; the English likewise; and here was a sufficient nucleus for another conflict, once the French had succeeded in arousing the savages to new depredations upon the English — which, as it turned, they were not long in doing, and the Seven Years' War was in full swing. It was impossible these powers should long remain at peace, with such conditions knocking at the royal door, and clamoring, not

only for recognition, but, as well, for food and shelter.

Acadia lost was only Acadia to be regained; and Louis XIV., once that peace was gained, like the senile old man that he was getting to be, his body worn with the excesses of his earlier years, was unwilling to give up the idea that he would some day be not only master in New France (for he was that already), but of North America.

Louisburg was to become a strenuous fact. Here were to be a great fortification, a grand hospital, a nunnery, a well-appointed military post, and a relay of priests to keep the faith of Isle Royale warm. The soldiers were to be of the pick of France; and to keep them content they were to have young French wives.

These plans were not only formulated, but they were carried into effect; so that here grew up a fishing-post of between three and four thousand well-ordered inhabitants, where was maintained an adequate garrison and, as Parkman says, the "strongest fortress on the Atlantic coast."

While the French were doing much at Isle Royale, Canada was not forgotten. In Acadia, the English maintained, at Annapolis, a weak garrison which might have been readily overpowered by the Acadian settlers. Here was an English province, but only by reason of its sovereignty. Its fortifications hardly merited the name of a frontier garrison-house, with an extremely limited authority; for

in 1720 there were hardly a dozen English families in the place, the smokes of whose chimneys mingled with those of the fort barracks.[1]

It will be noted that the Treaty of Utrecht gave to the Acadians freedom of worship and liberty of conscience. That was the condition of their allegiance to the British Crown. One other condition was that they and their religious teachers should observe the laws of great Britain in that regard.[2] If that was intended to shut out the Jesuit it was only partially successful; for the Jesuits came among them, not only as priests, but as agents for the French king, while the resident governor looked on with impotent wrath.[3] The little garrison at Annapolis was unable to stem the influence of the Jesuit propaganda, for fear that the priest-led

[1] In May, 1727, Philipps wrote to the Lords of Trade: "Everything there [at Annapolis] is wearing the face of ruin and decay," and the ramparts are "lying level with the ground in breaches sufficiently wide for fifty men to enter abreast."

Philipps to Secretary Craggs, September 26, 1720.

[2] "Those who are willing to remain there [in Acadia] and to be subject to the kingdom of Great Britain, are to enjoy the free exercise of their religion according to the usage of the Church of Rome, as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same."

Treaty of Utrecht, 14th article.

[3] Governor Armstrong writes to the Lords of Trade: "Without some particular directions as to the insolent behavior of those priests, the people will never be brought to obedience, being by them incited to daily acts of rebellion."

Acadians and Micmacs would drive the English out of the country. This was the state of affairs in Acadia in 1720.

It is time now to come nearer what was to be the scene of the warlike activities two years later at Merry-meeting Bay, where nine families of English settlers were butchered without warning; as Bourne says, a larger number of people than even Kennebunk could boast of at that time. The old territory of Acadia, to the French, was comprised of the country east of the Penobscot, including New Brunswick and the coast of Nova Scotia. Acadia to the English extended as far north as the St. Lawrence; but this was not to be settled without a quarrel. Besides this, the French claimed the Kennebec River to be the boundary of their possessions in Maine. It was a natural highway — as Arnold demonstrated — to Quebec. Not far above the Ticonic Falls on the Kennebec was the Norridgewock settlement, which comprised one of the three great Abenake families in Maine; the Tarratines, on the Penobscot, and the Sokoki, on the Saco, being the other two. The Abenake on the Kennebec were closely allied to the French interest, and were

And further, by Captain Bennett: "The bearer can further tell your Grace of the disposition of the French inhabitants of this province, and of the conduct of their missionary priests, who instil hatred into both Indians and French against the English."

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, p. 202.

really the French frontier post in that part of the country.

It was here that Sebastian Ralé established a mission, but the exact date of his coming is not given. He was here sometime, however, before 1697, possibly as early as 1693. His contemporaries were Bigot, on the Kennebec, and Thury at St. Famille (Pentagoët), on the Penobscot. A writer on the Abenake[1] gives a lucid account of his

[1] "Above the village, at the head of the rapids of the Kennebec, was a chapel dedicated to the most holy virgin, in which her image in relief demanded the prayers of the savages as they passed upward to the chase; and below, where the waters rested on their quiet level, another chapel stood, dedicated to the guardian angel of the tribe. The women contended with a holy emulation in the embellishment of their sanctuary by all the finery they possessed, and the chapels and the church were illumined by brilliant lights from the wax of the bayberries gathered upon the islands of the sea. Forty youths in cassocks and surplices officiated in performing the solemn functions around the altar. Such was the machinery of the holy office among the rude people of Nanrantsouak; and multitudinous processions, symbolical images, paintings, and mysterious rites were combined to catch the fancy and arrest the eye of the savage neophytes. Every day was introduced by the performance of mass, and the evening was ushered in by prayer in their native tongue, in which their zeal was excited by the chanting and recitation in which they took part, while the frequent exhortations of the father allowed no distraction of their attention, no suspicion of their piety, and no backslidings in their faith. Dictator of the consciences of his flock, where no envious rival, no jealous competitor, no

labors and the place where his life-work was carried on. He was of French extraction, born (1657) in French Compté. He engaged in the American missions (1689) when he was thirty-two years old. He was with the Canadian Abenake two years. Two more years were devoted to the Illinois Indians, after which he came to Norridgewock, where he was to spend the remainder of his days, which were fated to be terminated by an English bullet.

This Norridgewock village was most conveniently situated upon a strip of meadow in what is now the town of Madison, around which, with a gentle current, the Kennebec made graceful curve. On either hand were the deeps of the woods, while before was the slow-pulsing swell of the stream, the most beautiful in Maine. This original site of the Norridgewock village is now a field which forms a broad plateau above the river. Here was a typical Indian village, then known as Nanrantsouak. Its situation was most advantageous. On one side the Sandy River caught the shadows of its woodland, while on the other was the broader, sunlit Kennebec. Its soil was richly alluvial and espe-

heretical teacher, could break into the fold, the temporal concerns of their mortal welfare could not be kept from his hands; and they looked to him for advice at the council fire on the policy and arrangements for war, not less than for edification in the principles in the religion of peace."

Governor Lincoln's *Papers, Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., pp. 437, 438.

cially adapted to the raising of the maize they found so essential to their larder. A little above was a stretch of rapids, and just below, at the broad confluence of the two streams already mentioned, were some little islands, softly verdurous in summer, while beyond was the yielding horizon of the forest. To reach the English was a canoe-ride of two days, possibly, down stream; while to Quebec, up stream, it was a five days' paddle, with numerous carries.

About them was an unbroken wilderness, an unawakened theater of undreamed-of possibilities, the haunt of prowling beasts of prey hardly less savage than themselves, once they had given their bloodthirsty passions license. This was Ralé's environment, and it was here he set up the paraphernalia of his faith, which had for its first house a little chapel of bark, to which another was afterward added. One stood within the palisade, and the other without; for the village was surrounded by a stockade of logs set upright in the ground. This barrier was nine feet in height, and was a substantial affair. It was laid out in a square, measuring, outside, some six hundred forty feet along its four sides. The enclosure was entered by four gates, which may be said to have faced each point of the compass. A street ran from gate to gate, each to cross the other in the center of the village square at right angles; and along these streets were arranged some twenty to thirty wigwams, or houses,

of bark, built much as the English built theirs.[1] About twenty paces outside the east gate was the main chapel.[2] It had a bell-croft in which was hung a small bell.[3]

Such was the Kennebec Mission described by Heath, in 1716. When Hilton came, in the winter of 1705, he found the older village deserted by priest and people. He put a torch to the place before he turned his steps backward on the trail to Exeter, leaving the ruins of Indian Old Point behind.[4]

[1] "The above particulars are taken from an inscription on a manuscript map in the library of the Maine Historical Society, made in 1716 by Joseph Heath, one of the principal English settlers on the Kennebec, and for a time commandant of the fort at Brunswick."

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict,* p. 218, note.

[2] "When Colonel Westbrook and his men came to Norridgewock in 1722 they found a paper pinned to the church door, containing, among others, the following words, in the handwriting of Ralé, meant as a fling at the English invaders: 'It [the church] is ill built, because the English don't work well. It is not finished, although five or six Englishmen have wrought here during four years, and the Undertaker [contractor], who is a great Cheat, hath been paid in advance for to finish it.' The money came from the Canadian government."

Ibid, p. 218, note 2.

[3] *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., p. 437.

[4] *Ibid,* vol. i., p. 444; vol. ii., p. 197.

Sprague's *Sebastian Ralé.*

The Norridgewocks sent a deputation to Boston, following the Peace of 1713, to obtain some assistance of the English toward the rebuilding of their church. They were well received by the governor. The request was made, but when the latter made the rebuilding conditional the deputation demurred, with a most caustic arraignment of the English for their lack of missionary spirit;[1] to which the gov-

[1] "The Governor received them with the most seductive demonstrations of friendship. 'I wish,' said he, 'to restore your church, and I will treat you better than the French Governor has done, whom you call your father. It belongs to him to rebuild it, since he caused its destruction by inducing you to strike me. For me, I defend myself as I can, but he makes use of you to protect him, and then abandons you. I will deal better with you, for I will not only furnish you workmen, I am willing also to pay them and to be at the expense of building the edifice you are desirous to have constructed; but as it is not reasonable that I, who am an Englishman, should build you a church without providing a minister to take care of it, and to teach you prayer, I will give you one with whom you shall be satisfied, and you must send to Quebec the French minister who is in your village.'

"'Your words astonish me,' replied the savage deputy, 'and I admire you in the proposition you make. When you came here you saw me a long time before the French governors knew me. Neither your predecessors, nor their servants, ever spoke to me of prayer, or of the Great Spirit. They have seen my peltries, my skins of the beaver and the deer, and of those only have they taken thought: those they have sought with eagerness. I could not furnish them enough, and when I brought them many I was their great friend;

ernor had no answer. However, the English built the church — a fact which should stand to their credit.

Ralé remained their pastor and priest — a strong man, of trenchant tongue, who could manage the Abenake guttural as he could the patois of his na-

that was all. On the contrary, my canoe being one day lost, I mistook my course and wandered a long time by chance, until I stopped near to Quebec, at a great village of the Algonkins, where the black coats lived. Scarcely had I arrived when a black coat came to see me. I was loaded with peltries. The French black coat did not even deign to look at them. He spoke to me at once of the Great Spirit, of paradise, of hell, and of prayer, by which is the only path to heaven. I listened to him with pleasure, and relished so well his conversation that I stayed a long time in that village to hear him. Finally prayer was agreeable to me; I engaged him to teach me; I demanded baptism and received it. Afterwards I returned into my country and related what had happened to me. My people, emulous of my happiness, sought to partake it, and they also went to find the black coat and demand baptism. Thus have the French conducted towards me. If when you saw me you had spoken to me of prayer, I should have had the misfortune of praying as you do; for I was not capable of distinguishing whether your prayer was good. Thus, I tell you that I hold fast the prayer of the French. I like it and will preserve it until the earth shall burn up and perish. Keep, then, your workmen, your money, and your minister. I will mention them to you no more. I will tell the French Governor, my father, to send them to me.'"

Governor Lincoln's *Papers*, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., p. 441.

tive country, which he put to such good use that before 1723 he had compiled a dictionary of the Abenake language and had tied his people to himself with bands of steel. They loved him as a father, and they to him were his children.

For almost forty years the Piscataqua frontier had been the scene of Indian butchery and rapine, before which time the seashore from York eastward as far as the upper waters of the Sheepscot had been the dwelling-places of the English settler. At Arrowsic, New Meadows, North Yarmouth, Casco, and along the Cape Elizabeth shore past Richmond's Island, across the Owascoag River to the Saco, were the cabins and settlements of the pale-faces, not one of which remained at the end of Queen Anne's War.

The English charged these devastations to the French, and rightly. Wide tracts of land that blossomed with the arts of peace before the outbreak of the Wampanoag sachem (1675) had reverted to the original conditions of the wilderness. The promise of peace had changed all this, and after the Convention of Portsmouth the settlers who had escaped with their lives to New Hampshire and Massachusetts, to await the passing of the storm, came thronging back to search out their grass-grown thresholds, and to plant anew their roof-trees along the edges of the Maine forests and banks of her limpid streams. They kept on, many of them beyond even the old boundaries. Scarbo-

rough teemed with cabin-smokes. Mills went up on the Nonsuch. The uplands where the Algers had their homes were dotted with new cabins. It was the same with Saco, Casco, and Georgetown down Arrowsic way. Piping times of peace they were, and all were busy in mill or field.

A stone fort[1] was erected at Cushnoc (Augusta).

Some miles up river (Kennebec), near the mouth of the Sebasticook, a blockhouse was built. In August of the year following, Fort George was erected by Captain John Gyles, at Brunswick (1714 or 1715), at the lower falls of the Androscoggin. In 1719 Fort St. Georges was built,[2] at Thomaston, to protect the Waldo Patent. In 1723 Fort Richmond[3]

[1] "A fishery was also undertaken by the ingenious Doctor Noyes, where twenty vessels were employed at a time. He afterwards built a stone garrison at Augusta at his own charge, which was judged to be the best in the eastern country; and for a while it was kept at the public cost, but afterwards slighted; which occasioned the inhabitants to withdraw, and then the Indians burnt it with several other houses."

Penhallow, p. 83.

Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. v., p. 181.

[2] Winsor, *ibid.*

[3] Fort Richmond, located at the head of Swan's Island, was built by the Massachusetts government, in 1723, as a check on the Indians. It was garrisoned by the province, and so continued until the forts above (Fort Western and Fort Halifax) were built.

Maine Hist. Coll., vol. viii., p. 206.

was added to the forts on the Kennebec. This was opposite Swan Island.

Upon these adventurings of the English the French looked with jealous eye. The English occupied upon all sorts of titles. A very few were by regular conveyance from some Indian sachem, but more by a sort of squatter sovereignty. The Norridgewocks were not less uneasy than the French, and, instigated by Ralé, they were soon ready to enter their protest with French bullets.

Undoubtedly, of all the eastern tribes, the Norridgewocks were the most thoroughly embittered against the English. They had been among the most aggressive in the preceding years of war along the frontier, and possibly they had suffered most at the hands of their white adversaries. There were paramount reasons, nevertheless, why they should remain at peace with their English neighbors, however irritating such association might be. The English had inspired them with a wholesome respect for their fighting-qualities; then there were the acknowledged benefits arising from trade, which had become a necessary factor to the welfare of the savage.

The settlers, however, had little or no use for the savage. They knew the latter best for his treachery and unsparing cruelty. By the Peace of Portsmouth the savage was barred from intercourse with the English except at the truck-house. There were those of the settlers, too, whose attitude was not

only intentionally insulting, but openly aggressive. Added to these evidences of unfriendliness were the constant encroachments of the English upon Indian territory; they planted a fort or a blockhouse wherever a settlement had taken root. These were regarded by the Indians as a menace to their liberty.

There was reason for their apprehension, which, judiciously encouraged by Ralé, was giving birth to an ominous resentment.

In 1716 Samuel Shute succeeded Dudley as governor. In 1717 he came down to Arrowsic to attend a council which had been called at Georgetown. Here he met the delegates from the various Abenake tribes,— the Tarratines, from the Penobscot; the Norridgewocks, from Nanrantsouak; the Anasagunticooks, from the country of the Androscoggin; and the Sokoki of the Saco Valley. Hither they came in a flotilla of canoes. The English were at Georgetown, while the savages had set up their wigwams on an adjacent island.

The council convened August 9, 1717. The deliberations ran into the following afternoon. Wiwurna, the orator of the Norridgewocks, was the spokesman for his race; and it is evident that while he was something of an unschooled Talleyrand, Shute was no less indifferent to the savage etiquette observed upon such occasions,[1] and was inclined

[1] "But although the government is so anarchical, and their chiefs have so little respect and honour shewn them, yet in their council they observe a very excellent decorum; not

to be overbearing, if not dictatorial. The savages, objecting to the English building so many forts, were answered by the governor that he should build forts wherever they occurred to him as necessary. At this impolitic declaration the savages abruptly left the conference to go to their wigwams across the stream, where Ralé was awaiting the outcome of the convention.

Ralé was the ruling spirit of the Norridgewocks on this occasion, as he had been on others, having attended them down river. Upon the savages reporting to him Shute's decision, he wrote the latter a letter of inquiry as to the origin of the English title to the lands the latter assumed to occupy, which communication Shute refused to entertain. Shute had not mended matters; yet, so anxious were the savages to keep on friendly terms with the

suffering any to speak but one at a time, which is delivered with such remarkable pathos and surprising gravity, that there is neither smile nor whisper to be observed, until he that speaks has finished his discourse, who then sits down, and after that another rises up."

Penhallow, *Indians Wars*, p. 83.

Vide Sewall, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, p. 351, who is as quaint as he is ponderous in a memorial upon this conference. It is suggestive of a deal of the rubbish with which the events of his times were invested by those who wrote about them. It is almost senile.

The *Report* of the conference was printed by B. Green, Provincial Printer, Boston, 1717, and is reprinted in *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. iii., pp. 360-375.

English, that as the governor was embarking on his return voyage to Boston the next morning they made apology for their apparent rudeness of the preceding afternoon and requested the return of a flag left behind, which had been given to them by the English.

Shute acceded to their request, and a new spokesman intervened, who gave the governor a belt of wampum, with a request that the English use the lands as they pleased. With some promises on the part of Shute as to the establishment of trading-houses, and a gunsmith for their convenience, the pledge of Portsmouth was solemnly renewed.

Ralé declared this last compact void, and some caustic correspondence ensued between the priest and the Massachusetts governor, all of which hastened matters to a crisis. Unstable as a quicksand, once the savages had regained their villages they almost as soon left them to go down river, where they killed some cattle and burned some stacks of hay,[1] for which the English at once demanded reparation. The savages promised two

[1] Penhallow, p. 85.

Belknap, commenting on Ralé, says: "Knowing the power of superstition over the savage mind, he took advantage of this, and of their prejudice against the English, to promote the cause, and strengthen the interest of the French among them. He even made the offices of devotion serve as incentives to their ferocity, and kept a flag, in which was depicted a cross, surrounded by bows and arrows, which he used to

hundred beaver-skins; and as a surety of the fulfilment of their agreement of indemnity they had given four Norridgewocks over to the English as hostages.

Shute had kept none of his promises; but a new conference was called at Georgetown, and, despite Ralé's interference, the Norridgewocks had agreed to take part in it. Ralé was now thoroughly alarmed. It was evident that the French influence was in jeopardy. This apparent wavering of the Norridgewocks toward the English was to be stiffened into open aggression. Vaudreuil sent a considerable party of Abenake from Becancour; some from St. Francis; others from Lorette and Caughnawaga to Nanrantsouak with the priest La Chasse.

hoist on a pole, at the door of his church, when he gave them absolution, previously to their engaging in any warlike enterprise."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, pp. 199, 200.

"Ralé's account of the affair, found among his papers at Norridgewock, is curiously exaggerated. He says that he himself was with the Indians, and 'to pleasure the English' showed himself to them several times,—a point which the English writers do not mention, though it is one they would be most likely to seize upon. He says that fifty houses were burned, and that there were five forts, two of which were of stone, and that in one of these six hundred armed men, besides women and children, had sought refuge, though there was not such a number of men in the whole region of the Kennebec."

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. i., p. 235, note.

When they went down to Georgetown there were two hundred fifty of them in plumes, feathers, and war-paint. In the van was a French flag, and among them were St. Castin, from Penobscot; Croisil, from Canada; and the two priests, Ralé and La Chasse, in ninety canoes.

It was a formidable array Penhallow looked out upon as they paddled past the Georgetown fort. Penhallow at once became wary, and nothing more important was accomplished than the delivery of a letter for the Massachusetts governor, evidently the work of Ralé.[1]

Georgetown was at once reënforced by a command under Colonel Thaxter and Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe. They were accompanied by some of the Colonial Council, who hoped to have gotten

[1] "After this, they became tolerably quiet, but in the spring grew as insolent as before; especially in Kennebeck, where, some time in July, they came with ninety canoes on the Padishal's island, which lies opposite to Arrowsick, and sent to speak with Capt. Penhallow, who fearing an intrigue, refused. Upon which, one hundred and fifty of them went over to him, with whom he held a conference; especially with Monsieur Delachase, and Sebastain Rallé, who were Jesuits; Monsieur Crozen from Canada, and St. Casteen from Penobscot, came also along with them, who brought a letter for Governor Shute, in behalf of the several tribes, importing, that if the English did not remove and quit their land in three weeks, they would burn their houses and kill them, as also their cattle."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 86.

at the bottom of this unrest. They summoned in the Indians to another conference at Georgetown; but these overtures were met with derision by the savages, who declined to accommodate the gentlemen from Boston.

The soldiers were distributed among the neighboring garrisons for the winter of 1721–22. It was during this winter of 1721 that the Westbrook expedition was fitted out for Norridgewock. In 1720 it was proposed to send the sheriff of York County, with a posse of one hundred fifty men, to arrest Ralé; but the arrangement fell through.[1] When the colonial authorities found that St. Castin had appeared before Georgetown along with the Norridgewocks an order was issued for his immediate arrest; and as soon as it was known that he had returned to Pentagoët an English vessel, shortly after, dropped anchor off the Pentagoët shore. Invited aboard ship by the captain, with whom he had a friendly acquaintance, to sprinkle salt and break bread, he accepted. Once he had stepped over the ship's rails the sails were triced up and the ship was headed out into the bay. St. Castin[2] was taken to Boston, and upon his arrival was thrown into the common jail. It was an abduction, pure and simple; but it was one of the ways of the English

[1] Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 201.

[2] A son of Baron St. Castin.
Shea's Charlevoix, vol. v., p. 274.

to exasperate the savages to greater activity and cruelty.

The General Court ordered that St. Castin have a judicial trial, which action was not concurred in by the council, which voted to send for witnesses whose testimony would enable them to determine the proper course of legal procedure. This not being agreed to by the General Court, the case was subjected to a needless delay, which no doubt was agreeable to the colonial authorities, who were not so sure of their ground, but who wished some shadow of an excuse to keep St. Castin in Boston.

A committee was later deputed to examine the prisoner, who was able to convince them that he ought to be discharged, and the committee so reported.[1] The two houses had non-concurred in

[1] "A Committee was afterwards appointed to examine St. Castin; and he so well satisfied them that wrong had been done him by these proceedings, that they reported that he should be discharged. In reply to interrogatories, he said: 'I received no orders from the Governor of Canada to be present at Arrowsic. I have always lived with my kindred and people—my mother was an Abenakis—I was in authority over them. I should not have been true to my trusts if I had neglected to be present at a meeting wherein their interests were concerned. My uniform is required by my position, which is that of a Lieutenant under the French King. I have the highest friendship for the English. My disposition is to prevent my people from doing them mischief; and my efforts shall be to influence them to keep peace.'"

Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. vii., pp. 84, 85.

the matter of St. Castin's discharge, but the sentiment that he was illegally held obtained such impetus that he was released in May of 1722, after an imprisonment of five months, having been abducted the previous December.[1]

The Westbrook expedition was fitted out, and, going up the Kennebec, they came to the bend in the river where before them stood starkly in the winter snow the palisades of the Norridgewocks. They came upon the place stealthily. There was a welcoming odor of hospitable fires, but the village was as silent as the forest which hemmed it in. The gates were wide open. Ralé had escaped the English,[2] but in such haste that he had left his pa-

[1] Vaudreuil had personally written the Massachusetts governor demanding the return of St. Castin; but Shute, with his usual disregard of the proprieties, gave the French governor's communication no attention. St. Castin at this time held a lieutenant's commission under the French king.

Godfrey, *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, pp. 85, 86.

Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. ii., p. 246.

Shea's Charlevoix, vol. v., p. 275.

[2] "In the winter of 1722, while the warriors were out on the chase they sent a detachment of two hundred men to arrest him in his village. He received timely notice to enable him to fly a short distance into the woods, but as he had suffered the misfortune to have both his legs broken by a fall and could not travel far, his only resource was to conceal himself behind a tree, which his enemies approached almost to touch; but, says the father, as if they had been repelled by an invisible hand, they turned away and retired. His faithful and

pers in his strong-box,[1] which, upon examination, proved his complicity in the efforts of the French to embroil the Abenake in a continual quarrel with the English.[2] Westbrook took Ralé's personal belongings away with him, including the famous *Abenake Dictionary*, which now forms a part of Harvard University's priceless collection. One of

affectionate savages often urged to him the peril of his situation, and pressed him to retire to Quebec for safety; but he answered them in true devotion of spirit of the zealous apostle, 'none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry I have received from the Lord Jesus.'"

Governor Lincoln's *Papers*, *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i., p. 444.

[1]Among the collections of the Maine Historical Society may be seen the little iron-bound trunk taken by Westbrook; also a rude metal spoon of Ralé's, and a metal crucifix somewhat corroded. Here also is Ralé's chapel bell, which was looted by some predatory spirit among Westbrook's troops. It was found under the roots of an old tree in the Kennebec woods a century later. It weighs about sixty pounds, and has a militant note that is a romance in itself.

Sylvester, *Maine Pioneer Settlements*, vol. i., p. 94.

[2]"Some of the papers found in Ralé's 'strong box' are still preserved in the Archives of Massachusetts, including a letter to him from Vaudreuil, dated at Quebec, 25 September, 1721, in which the French governor expresses great satisfaction at the missionary's success in uniting the Indians against the English, and promises military aid, if necessary."

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. i., p. 238, note.

the soldiers robbed the chapel of its bell, only to drop it along the Kennebec trail when he had tired of the burden.

This attempt to seize Ralé was impolitic because it failed. It could but arouse to fever-pitch the smouldering antagonism; and the savages were only waiting for the ice to go out of the river, when they would take to their canoes, and the horrors of Queen Anne's War would be enacted over again.

Among the English settlements east of the Casco, or Falmouth settlement, was that of the Pejepscot Purchase, which later became a portion of the Brunswick township. The early settlers built their cabins along the mouth of the New Meadows River, and down the narrow tongue of land known in these days as Merriconeag Neck, west of which were Middle and Maquoit Bays. A few cabins looked out on Merry-meeting Bay, on what is now the Topsham side of that water.[1]

Between 1717 and 1722 forty-one persons are known to have settled in Brunswick; but upon the breaking out of the savageries of the fourth Indian war, in 1722, these settlers abandoned their cabins and clearings for almost a decade following.

The snow had left the planting-lands of the English settler and he had begun to plow and to sow. Down at Merry-meeting Bay the skies were soft and balmy, for the summer days had come. It was

[1] Wheeler, *History of Brunswick*, p. 37.

the thirteenth of June, 1722; and here, on this particular day, the first overt act of savage hostility was committed. The savages, sixty of them, in twenty canoes, came suddenly upon the place, and the entire settlement of nine families was captured. Five settlers — Love, Hamilton, Handson, Trescot, and Edgar — were sent to Canada. The others were allowed their liberty; which may be regarded as a matter of curious remark,[1] for they at once raided St. Georges, where they burned a sloop, attacking the garrison and carrying away several prisoners.

The same garrison was beset a month later by some Penobscot savages, who attacked the fort, laying siege to it for twelve days, killing five of the English. Laverjait[2] was with the savages. They undertook to mine the fort, and had made some headway when a heavy storm of rain filled their trenches, and they withdrew with a loss of twenty killed.[3]

[1] Williamson (*History of Maine*, vol. ii., p. 114) says that these captives were detained by the savages as hostages to ensure the safe return of four Indians held by the English at Boston.

[2] Lauverjait went to the St. Famille (Pentagoët) Mission in 1718.

Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. vii., p. 83.

[3] In this attack the settlement was destroyed. A number of the settlers were captured; many were murdered and scalped. David Dunning and another, a soldier, were at some distance from the fort when their attention was attracted by an un-

Over at Damaris Cove, Lieutenant Tilton had anchored his little sloop for a bit of fishing when a party of five savages, under Captain Samuel,[1] surprised them. They (Tilton and his brother) were near being captured; but, after being bound, the brother cleared himself and then the lieutenant, when they succeeded in tossing one savage into the water, giving fatal wounds to two others. So rapidly were these assaults committed that they were able in many instances to accomplish their savage work most successfully; as where Captains Savage

usual noise in the direction of the cabin of a settler by the name of Tregoweth. They discovered the cabin to be surrounded by a considerable body of savages. The savages began moving in the direction of the fort. Dunning made off toward his home at Maquoit Bay, while the soldier started on the run for the fort, shouting the alarm as he went. He reached the fort in safety. No mention is made of the fate of Tregoweth.

McKeen, *MS. Lecture.*

A fort was built of stone in 1715, at Brunswick, known as Fort George. After the destruction of the settlement the savages retired to a cabin on Fish-house Hill, from which they were driven by a chain-shot from the fort.

Wheeler, *History of Brunswick*, p. 54.

[1] Captain Samuel (Simmo) was a Tarratine sachem. He was active in Queen Anne's War. He was spokesman at the Casco conference of June 20, 1703, for the Kennebec Indians. It was he who told Dudley that the sun was not farther from the earth than were the thoughts of the Indians from war. Drake says Samuel's fate is obscure.

Drake, *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 116.

and Blinn and a Mr. Newton, who were about this time sailing down from Annapolis, going into Passamaquoddy Bay for water, once on shore, found themselves surrounded by a considerable body of savages, while some French in the neighborhood remained passively looking on. They were anxious to obtain the cargo, and sent Captain Savage on board to bring some of the lading on shore; which he was unable to do, as the wind, rising, blew him off shore, so that he escaped, to get to Boston. His companions were afterward ransomed.

At the mouth of the Cathance River, in Brunswick, is Somerset Point. Not far away is the Pejepscot River; and it was at the falls on this stream that Fort George was built, and here was the little settlement of Brunswick. It was attacked shortly after the raid on Georgetown, and was destroyed, with the exception of the fort. It was among the coves and inlets of these waters, especially in the neighborhood of Somerset Point, the Indians were accustomed to assemble for their deliberations, feasting, and reveling; and it was here they came after the Brunswick massacre[1], where they were less

[1] "This destruction of Brunswick was in retaliation for the attack made on Norridgewock the year preceding, by Col. Westbrook. Following this event, the next season, Capt's. Harmon, Moulton and others surprised Norridgewock, and effectually subdued the Indians. It was Richard Jacques, who killed Rallé; he was son-in-law of Capt. Harmon, having married his daughter Sarah. Both Harmon and Jacques

exposed to attacks by the English. It was also here that Major Moody and Colonel Harmon came upon the savages and killed most of them. It was the last of June or the first of July, 1722. The English were thirty-four men. They discovered the savages by their fires. They went to reconnoitre, and found eleven canoes drawn up on the sands.

They almost stumbled over the sleeping savages, who had indulged in their usual orgies, and, wrapped in a drunken slumber, were easily overcome by Harmon's party. The number killed were reported as eighteen. Penhallow says the English brought away fifteen guns. Looking about to be sure they had disposed of all the savages, they came across the hand of a white man on a tree-stump. They afterward found the body, which was most inhumanly mangled and cut up, having the tongue, nose, and private members hacked off by knives or axes. Harmon took the body away and buried it decently. It was the work of ten minutes for Harmon's men to visit summary vengeance upon their enemies. That there was a larger body of savages camped close by was made apparent by a fusillade of

moved to Harpswell in 1727. The former died there. Jacques received a mortal wound in a skirmish with the Indians along our eastern shore; he was brought home and died in Harpswell. They came to Harpswell from York. Jacques family came from Newbury, Mass."

Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. iii., p. 313, note.

guns from the startled Indians. Harmon got away without the loss of a man.[1]

These events had come along so rapidly that the New England settlers were in a fever of unrest and anxiety. One disastrous conflict with the savages was terminated less than a decade before. Another was impending. There was some dissension over the matter among the New England settlers; for it was evident that while the colonial conscience was somewhat dormant, it was not wholly dead. There were those who were not slow in charging the government with not keeping its promises to the Indians for the prevention of the frauds which were continually being perpetrated upon them by unscrupulous traders, who in many instances sold

[1] Wheeler, *History of Brunswick*, p. 54.

Captain Gyles, upon the retirement of the savages after the destruction of Brunswick, despatched Samuel Eaton to Arrowsic to warn Colonel Harmon, who was in command at that place, that the Indians had taken their captives in the direction of Pleasant Point. Eaton hid the letter in his hair in a covering of eel-skin; but Harmon had seen the smoke, and, anticipating Gyles's messenger, with Major Moody planned the reprisal above described.

McKeen, *MS. Lecture.*

After the surprise of the savages at Pleasant Point, upon his return to his boats, Harmon came across the body of Moses Eaton, of Salisbury. Eaton had been brutally tortured and mutilated by the savages. A grave was dug on the spot, and the body was decently buried.

Williamson, *History of Maine*, vol. ii., p. 116.

them the rum that enabled them easily to be robbed without hindrance.

Shute was willing, and endeavored, to keep his pledges; but the General Court, out of a jealous perversity, refused the appropriation, so these resentments of the savages found a fertile feeding-ground. Regarding themselves justified in taking the settlement of their wrong into their own hands, they began to cross out their accounts against the English with the obliteration of the unprotected settlements in the neighborhood of the Sagadahoc.

The colonists were aroused. The war, though not officially declared, was on. Shute was overwhelmed with addresses and memorials demanding retaliation. He laid the matter before the General Court, which at once advised a proclamation of war against the eastern Indians; therefore, war was proclaimed, July 25, 1722.

Relations between Governor Shute and the legislative branch of the province were not of the most harmonious character. Shute, once the war was announced, began his preparations for a vigorous and aggressive campaign. He assumed the command of the colonial forces as captain-general of the province, which was not to the taste of the General Court. An old campaigner under Marlborough, he outlined his plan for the carrying on of the war, and at once appointed his subordinate officers, without reference to the desires of the representatives. One of these was Colonel Walton,

who had had some experience with the eastern savages. It was no doubt a good appointment; but it proved a most unpopular selection for the majority of the General Court, which demanded Walton's recall by reason of some charges which had been preferred against him by some of the most contentious of that body. Shute demurred, and the quarrel between the General Court and the executive was strapped to Walton's back, while it was the governor the representatives were trying to thwart. These contentions waged, the General Court playing usurper, until, on the first of January, 1723, Governor Shute sailed away without informing any but his servants of his intended departure.

His voluntary retirement left the burden of subsequent activities in the Massachusetts province to William Dummer, the lieutenant-governor. Dummer was New England born, but that was not to count for much for the governor of the province. The New Englanders were no less rebels in 1723 than they were later, in the days of the Stamp Act; and it is possible they would have thrown Dummer overboard and scuttled the royal prerogative, so far as it affected the direction of affairs in the province, had it not been for the fact that Shute at Court might be more difficult to reckon with than Shute in Boston. They were not yet prepared to set the home government at defiance, though they refused to pay Dummer his salary, as well as those of his

officers of the army who were known to favor the Royalist side of the controversy.

Dummer was obliged to capitulate. Colonel Walton and Major Moody, both appointees of Shute, were dismissed. They also refused to vote any supplies for the prosecution of the war, until they had exacted of Dummer the last vestige of executive independence. To this particular Assembly Dummer was not unlike a red flag in the face of a peevish bull, nor was the new General Court any more pliable.

While this quarrel was going on the savages were overrunning the frontier, scalping, killing, and burning. They had appeared at Dover, where they killed Joseph Ham, carrying off three of his children, the rest of the family escaping to the garrison. Tristram Heard was the next victim. He was killed on the trail. They next swooped down on Lamphrey River, where they butchered Aaron Rawlins and one child, taking his wife and three other children to Canada.[1]

[1]"This Aaron Rawlins (whose wife was a daughter of Edward Taylor, who was killed by the Indians 1704) lived upon the plantation left by Taylor, about half a mile west from Lamprey River landing, at the lower falls on Piscasick River. The people there at that time, commonly retired, at night, to the garrisoned houses, and returned home in the daytime; but that night they neglected to retire as usual. His brother also lived about half a mile distant on the same river. It seems the Indian scout consisted of eighteen, who prob-

In these attacks on the Piscataqua towns the savages came by the way of Lake Winnipiseogee, which was hardly more than thirty miles from the Falls of the Cocheco. It was a cross-country trail from Norridgewock to Pequawket, as well as from the latter place to the lake. By keeping north through the wilderness the English were wholly unaware of their movements, which would have been otherwise had they kept nearer the trail of the settlers, which hugged the seashore.

ably had been reconnoitering some time, and intended to have destroyed both the families, and for that purpose divided, and nine went to each house; but the party that went to Samuel Rawlins's, beating in the windows and finding the family gone, immediately joined their companions, who were engaged at Aaron's. His wife went out at the door, perhaps sooner than they would otherwise have assaulted the house, and was immediately seized, and one or two of her children who followed her. Her husband being alarmed, secured the door before they could enter, and with his eldest daughter, about twelve years old, stood upon his defence, repeatedly firing wherever they attempted to enter, and at the same time calling earnestly to his neighbors for help; but the people in the several garrisoned houses near, apprehending from the noise and incessant firing, the number of the enemy to be greater than they were and expecting every moment to be attacked themselves, did not venture to come to his assistance. Having for some time bravely withstood such unequal force, he was at last killed by their random shots through the house, which they then broke open, and killed his daughter. They scalped him and cut off his daughter's head, either through haste, or probably being enraged against

This consideration led to the entertaining of a purpose to build a fort at the lake, which was to be reached by a good road. Orders were issued to carry out the plan. A crew of two hundred fifty men were set to work on the road; but the expense became discouraging, and the enterprise was abandoned. The old practice of patrolling the woods and keeping the garrison supplied with men and stores was adopted. The bounty for Indian scalps was raised to one hundred pounds.[1]

her, on account of the assistance she had afforded her father in their defence, which evidently appeared by her hands being soiled with powder. His wife and two children, a son and a daughter, they carried to Canada: The woman was redeemed in a few years. The son was adopted by the Indians, and lived with them all his days; he came into Pennacook with the Indians after the peace, and expressed to some people with whom he conversed, much resentment against his uncle Samuel Rawlins, on supposing that he had detained from his mother some property left by his father, but manifested no desire of returning to Newmarket again. The daughter married with a Frenchman, and when she was near sixty years old, returned with her husband to her native place, in expectation of recovering the patrimony she conceived was left at the death of her father: But the estate having been sold by her grandfather Taylor's administrators, they were disappointed, and after a year or two went back to Canada."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 203, note.

[1]"The general assembly not finding the former bounty sufficiently encouraging to volunteers, now passed an act of one hundred pounds a scalp to all such as supported themselves, and whoever was subsisted by the publick, should

It was this year Rye petitioned to be set off from New Castle.[1] In the spring of 1723 the Indians made their appearance in Wells. On May 11 two men, Parsons and Randall, were shot at Brunswick. The same day the sawmill on Little River, owned by Nicholas Cole, was burned, and Daniel Lowe was waylaid in Merryland district; two young men were shot on the trail from Wells to York. Following this, Benjamin Major was shot at Arun-

have sixty pounds for the like: that any company or troop issuing forth upon an alarm, should over and above the establishment have thirty pounds, and an encouraging reward besides, for all prisoners that they took; and whatever plunder might be taken should be shared among them. And if any volunteers or detached soldiers should happen to be wounded or maimed in the service, that during the continuance of such wound or maim, he shall be allowed such a stipend or pension as the general court should think fit to order."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 93.

[1] "On the 24 February, 1723, sixty three of the inhabitants 'living in that part of New Castle, called Little-Harbor and Sandy Beach, and at the eastward of the Little River, so called, at the easterly end of Hampton next to Sandy Beach, with sundry persons of Portsmouth living near Sandy Beach,' being in all sixty families or upwards, petitioned the governor and council to be set off as 'a particular district or precinct for maintaining a minister with the privileges of carrying on the affairs of a town or parish.' The petitioners state that by reason of the great distance they live from any meeting house, the 'greatest part of their families were deprived of the dispensations of the gospel, and that there had been almost a

del, and a sawmill on the Kennebunk River was destroyed (Storer's). They were again in Berwick and Saco, where two other men were shot.[1]

Black Point (Scarborough) had been strengthened by nine men, in anticipation of the coming of the savages, and they were not long left undisturbed. In April, 1723, they appeared unexpectedly before the fort, where they came upon Samuel Chubb, Thomas Larrabee, and his son Anthony. The Larrabees were at work in a field at a distance

famine of the word and worship of God amongst them, there being near four hundred souls, whereof not above the sixth or seventh part could attend said worship.' *MS. Petition.*— Their petition was probably granted, as the next year, they built a meeting house, and in 1726, gathered a church, and settled Rev. Nathaniel Morrill for their first minister. The early names in Rye were those of Berry, Seavey, Brackett, Rand, Locke, Wallis and Jenness, most of which are still found there. It had 72 ratable polls in 1727, and 736 inhabitants in 1767. The settlement of this town dates back to the year 1631, perhaps somewhat earlier."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 202, note.

[1]One of these Berwick men was Myles Thompson. He "was killed in May, 1724. He lived on the road which leads from Quampeagan to Wells, at Love's Brook. One Stone was mangled and scalped near where Thompson fell by the same party, but he survived it, and lived to be an old man. Governor Sullivan, who knew him, says, 'His life was miserable; he wore a silver caul on his head, went on crutches, had the use of only one hand, and was subject to strong convulsion fits.'"

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 99, note.

from their house.[1] Chubb was supposed by the savages to be Captain Harmon, whom they hated not less than they did Pine and Hunniwell. Eleven bullets were found in his body. Hutchinson regards this error as a fortunate circumstance, by which others were able to gain the fort unharmed.

On June 26 of the same year the savages attacked the garrison-house of Roger Dearing. His wife was killed, and two of his children were captured. They also carried away Mary Scamman, who was a guest of the Dearings at that time. The same day they surprised John Hunniwell, of Black Point. He was taken to Canada. Singularly enough, all these butcheries occurred within a space of three months, and only one other, a Mr. Mitchell of Black Point, was killed in Scarborough during the war. He was waylaid in the vicinity of Spurwink the following year (1724), and was killed and scalped.

The three savages who were concerned in the

[1] "According to family tradition the Larrabees were killed while at work in the field at a distance from their house. The fact of their death by the hands of the Indians stands recorded on the Town Book thus: 'The death of Thomas lereby and his son Anthony lereby, who was killed by the ingons April 19th, 1723.' Chubb was mistaken by the Indians for Capt. Harmon, for whom they entertained a peculiar dislike, and at once no less than fifteen guns were aimed at him; and he fell pierced by eleven bullets."

Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. iii., p. 150.

raid on the Dearing garrison were well known to that family, having had their wigwams on the bank of the Nonsuch River. They were Sam Manhan and his son, and Wahooha, the former of whom found his grave beside this river, near the site of what was once Carter's Mill. In those early days there were several tide sawmills up and down the Nonsuch, for here grew some of the finest timber in the province. Carter's was one of these. The old timber foundations of some of these mills have been located in the mud of the Nonsuch. These three savages were at the garrison of Job Burnham the morning before the raid on the Dearings. Breakfast being laid, they were asked in to eat, but they refused. The elder Manhan, instead, turned around on his heel, his arm outstretched, as he muttered to Mrs. Burnham, "All mine b'n by!" Manhan had his lesson well from Ralé.

August 27, 1723, the savages appeared at Mousam River. A man named Jepsum was at the sawmill alone. He was shot, and such was the terror the savages had inspired in the vicinity that his body was left for a fortnight unsought for, when Joseph Hill and some twenty other of his neighbors went to the place and gave him a burial in an adjoining field.

Before the year closed three or four more shared the fate of Jepsum. When the winter came the savages continued their raids, especially about Berwick; but, as Bourne says, these unfortunate

happenings were usually the result of imprudence on the part of the settlers.

The most important raid of 1723 was the descent upon Arrowsic of about five hundred Indians from Canada and Cape Sable. They came upon the fort very early in the morning, but were discovered by a few men who had been sent out by Captain Penhallow to help in the harvesting of some corn. They came upon the savages unexpectedly. One of the men from the fort was killed. Three others were wounded. The settlers, hearing the guns, made their way to the fort safely, taking most of their small chattels along with them. The garrison here at this time was a small one, but they made a strenuous defence. Through a port-hole, Samuel Brooking was shot; but the savages spent most of their efforts in killing fifty cattle of the settlers and burning some twenty-six houses. Just as the sun was going down, Colonel Walton and Captain Harmon came with a little force of thirty men in two whale-boats. Joining with the men at the garrison, they made a sally upon the invaders; but there were so many of them they came very near being cut off from the fort, upon which they retreated, keeping up a brisk fire on the savages, who kept at a respectful distance until the English had closed the fort gate.

Concluding there was nothing to be gained by waiting about Arrowsic, which now had a fairly strong garrison, the savages paddled up the river,

to come upon one Stratton, who "was turning down in his sloop, whom they mortally wounded;" after which they kept on up river to Richmond. After exchanging a few shots with the men in the Richmond fort they disappeared as they had come, to lose themselves in the shadows of the woods.

This attack on Arrowsic was the last for 1723 on the Kennebec. Where this considerable body of Indians went is not known, as, with the exception of the man killed later at Berwick, the eastern frontier was left in peace until the opening of the following year. This autumn of 1723 Colonel Westbrook went into the country of the Penobscot, while Captain Harmon took the opposite direction, toward Ammeriscoggin.

In that part of the country to which Westbrook was leading his expedition there were three considerable Indian settlements, at each of which was a French fort. It seems there was something of a French resident population, according to Godfrey. These settlements were at Mattawamkeag, Passadumkeag, and Penobscot Falls. Westbrook and Captain Heath spent some five days on the river, but found nothing until they came to what is now Nicolai's Island. Here they found a village, but Westbrook mentions the finding of none other in his report of this expedition. He evidently found nothing at Oldtown, and Williamson says that the settlement at Penobscot Falls was not made until

the next year.[1] At the end of five days Westbrook and his force of two hundred forty men had come upon the Passadumkeag Fort.

It was a stockaded area. The palisades were some fourteen feet high. The fort was two hundred ten feet on the sides, and one hundred fifty feet on the ends. Within the area were twenty-three well-constructed (Westbrook says they were "built regular") dwellings of wood. Without the fort was a chapel "well and handsomely furnished within and without, and on the south side of that, the Fryar's dwelling-house." This being in the diocese of Lauverjait, who was settled at the St. Famille Mission, the latter was undoubtedly the "Fryar" alluded to by Westbrook; the same who had inspired the savages at the attack on Walton and Penhallow the autumn before at Arrowsic.

He found the wigwams deserted. The savages, having undoubtedly been warned of Westbrook's approach, had fallen back on Mattawamkeag, which lay still more securely obscure in the deeps of the Penobscot wilderness. This stream was a favorite with the Indians, as it abounded in fish, and ducks were plenty in season, and so abundant that in their moulting the savages pursued them in canoes and knocked them over with their paddles.

But Westbrook was willing to return, so, putting Passadumkeag to the torch, chapel and wigwam,

[1] Williamson, *History of Maine*, vol. ii., p. 143.

he came down the river, and, cutting across into the Sagadahoc country, he was in touch with the English garrisons.[1]

Captain Harmon kept on to Ammeriscoggin. He found a settlement of that tribe, but it was tenantless. After reducing "a chapel and some wigwams" to ashes, he retraced his march to the fort at Richmond.[2]

This same season Captain Sayward penetrated the Sokoki country as far as the White Mountains, one hundred miles or more, but found only deserted wigwams. The savage, like the wild animal to whom he was often likened, was too elusive to be caught by the English hunters.

While these events were transpiring the French and Indians were directing some offensive operations against Canso, where they captured sixteen English vessels in the various harbors. They were, however, checked in these depredations by Captain Elliot and Captain Robinson in two vessels, who bore down upon one of the captured English vessels, which was manned by thirty-nine French and Indians. In a sharp encounter the English retook seven of the captured ships, with six hundred quintals of fish. Fifteen of the savages were made prisoners, and two sachems were killed. Captain

[1] *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. vii., pp. 4, 5.
Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 94.

[2] *Ibid.*

Elliot, though severely wounded, pulled into Canso in his vessel, which was at once ordered to join Captain Robinson with a new supply of fighting-men.

A week later a sloop and schooner were brought in. Shortly after, four more vessels were recaptured. This was followed by the arrival of Captain Blinn with seven of the captured ships and twenty-four of the English who had been taken by the savages in their raiding of the English harbors. These activities on the part of the English along the Acadian coast were so effective that the French and Indians seem to have relinquished any further design in this quarter.

Captain Watkins was about this time making a fishing-venture to Canso and was surprised by some savages while he was asleep in his bed. His lodging was on a small island a short distance from the fort; and though urged by his friends to take better measures for his safety, they offering him the hospitality of their homes, he persisted in staying in the little cabin on the island. With him was John Drew, of Portsmouth, a fine lad. Both were killed as they slept. This incident seems to be the final in the atrocities committed by the savages around Canso.

August 13, 1723, Gray Lock, the sachem of the Waranokes, whose whereabouts that summer are obscure, came into Northfield with four other savages. They waylaid two men who were prominent

in town affairs, but before a pursuit could be organized Gray Lock and his party were on their way to Rutland. Rutland, like most of the settlements of the time, was hemmed in by thick woods, only sufficient land being cleared to enable the settlers to carry on their agricultural pursuits in a sufficient degree to suffice for their subsistence and the feeding of their small herds of cattle.[1]

It was within these woodlands these savages loitered for the opportunity to waylay some unsuspecting settler. The day following the killing at Northfield (August 14) Deacon Joseph Stevens went alone to his meadow, possibly the "ministry meadow," a half-mile to the northeast of the Rutland meeting-house. Later, he was followed to his work by his four boys. When they had reached the

[1] "At Rutland, they killed three men, wounded one, and took another; and at Oxford, beset a house that lay under a hill, but as one of the enemy attempted to break through the roof, he was shot by a woman of the house."

The following notes are taken from Penhallow:

1. "This was on the 3d of August, 1724, and was the last mischief done at Rutland."

2. "The enemy, four in number, made a breach in the roof, and as one of them was attempting to enter, he received a shot in his belly from a courageous woman, the only person in the house, but who had two muskets and two pistols charged, and was prepared for all four; but they thought fit to retreat, carrying off the dead or wounded man. This was on the 6th of August."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 102.

meadow they were beset by Gray Lock[1] and his band, who, coming upon them stealthily, killed two of them, Samuel and Joseph, instantly. The other two, Phineas and Isaac, were captured. The deacon, hearing the noise, at once discovered his own peril and the hopelessness of any effort of his to help his sons; he made his escape into the woods, and thence to his house.

Three of the savages guarded the two boys, while the other two savages went to another near-by meadow, where Simon Davis and Simon, junior, were at work. They did not dare to make an open attack on these men, but hid in the bushes beside the path they would naturally take as they went homeward. The two settlers went home by another way, and so escaped the ambush. The savages, discovering themselves foiled, went to join the three savages who were guarding the captives. As they came around the southeasterly spur of Cheney Hill they came upon the town minister, Mr. Willard,[2] who was coming into the settlement

[1]For an account of Gray Lock, *vide History of Northfield;* Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 397; Trumbull, *History of Northampton*, vol. i., p. 513, who gives the date as July.

[2]"Rev. Joseph Willard graduated at Yale College, 1714, and was settled at Sunderland, from whence he removed to Rutland, and on the 12th of July, 1721, was invited to settle in the ministry. The day of his installation was deferred on account of the discouragements of the times, till the fall of

on his return from hunting. Both the savages fired at him, but missed. The minister returned the shot instantly, with better success, as he wounded one of his assailants. The unharmed savage closed with the white man, and while Willard was getting the better of his antagonist the latter was joined by three more savages, and a moment later the plucky minister was killed. Phineas Stevens, the captured son of Deacon Stevens, witnessed the struggle, to tell the story in later years.

Dummer wrote to Vaudreuil, January 19, 1724, in regard to the murder of Mr. Willard: "And I think I have much greater cause to complain that

1723, when he was cut off by the enemy. The following account of his death and other Indian depredations, is given by Mr. Whitney, in his *History of Worcester County:*

"'As deacon Stevens and four of his sons were making hay in a meadow, at Rutland, on the 14th of August, 1723, they were surprised by five Indians. The father escaped in the bushes; two of the sons were slain, and two, Phineas and Isaac, were made prisoners. Two of the five Indians waylaid a Mr. Davis and son, who that afternoon were making hay in a meadow not far off, but weary of waiting, they were returning to the others, and met Mr. Willard in their way, who was armed. One of the Indians' guns missed fire, the others did no execution. Mr. Willard returned the fire and wounded one of them, it is said mortally; the other closed in with Mr. Willard; but he would have been more than a match for him, had not the other three come to his assistance; and it was some considerable time before they killed Mr. Willard. Phineas Stevens, above mentioned, was the celebrated warrior in the Cape Breton war; and the one who so bravely de-

Mr. Willard, the Minister of Rutland (who never had been guilty of the Facts chargeable upon Mr. Ralle), was by the Indians you sent to attack that Town, assaulted, Slain & Scalped & his Scalp carried in triumph to Quebec."

December 5 of this year a party of savages invested the garrison of St. Georges. For a space of thirty days they hung around the skirts of the woods that hemmed in the fort, hoping for some loophole of success; but beyond the capture of two soldiers when they first came, who gave their captors some knowledge of the state of the garrison, they were able to accomplish nothing. Captain Canady maintained a persistent defence until the

fended Charlestown, N. H., on the 4th of April, 1747, when attacked by 400 French and Indians under Mons. Debeline.'"

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 95, note.

"In 1749 he [Phineas Stevens] was commissioned by the Governor of the Province of Massachusetts to go to Canada and negotiate for the redemption of captives held by the Indians; and he subsequently made several journeys for the same purpose. In one of these visits he succeeded in securing the release of John Stark, afterwards General, at the cost of an Indian pony valued at 103 pounds. One of his own children was taken captive."

Blake's *Rutland*, p. 46.

Sheldon's *Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 397.

On October 9 of this year (1723) the Indians attacked a party of men at work at Northfield Meadows. One was killed, two wounded, and another captured.

Sheldon's *Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 402.

arrival of Colonel Westbrook, when the affair put on a different face, and the savages took to their canoes, thoroughly routed.

1724 was to be a fateful year for the savage, nevertheless. As soon as the streams were free he began to prowl about the cabin of the paleface, or haunt his planting-lands. The stoutest garrison in Kennebunk, and probably east of the Piscataqua, was that of Sergeant William Larrabee. The enclosure measured an acre. There was plenty of timber along the Mousam River, and it was only a matter of labor to put up a palisade fourteen feet high. The fort was a parallelogram, fronting southeast, so that it looked down the Mousam. A stout flanker was at each corner, angular in fashion, and in the angle was a generous port-hole, affording plenty of room for action. They were six feet from the ground, and built much like an oriel. They commanded the entire exterior line of the palisade. On the lower side was a square flanker of ample proportions that had some semblance to a *porte-cochère*. There were three entrances secured by stout gates, one at each end and one on the river-exposure. Within were five comfortable dwellings. Larrabee's was of large dimensions, which occupied the center of the fort. The house at the north corner was that of Edward Evans; at the south, that of Edward Morrison; Ebenezer Bayridge occupied the east corner, and the northerly was used by the soldiers as a barrack, and by such of the settlers as

sought the garrison when the savages were known to be in the neighborhood. These houses were all one-story affairs with block-windows (square holes), which could be closed at a moment's notice. Some of these had shutters, while others were stopped with thick, square blocks. These windows were about one foot square.

At the southeastern side of the garrison-wall was a log cabin. It stood just before the entrance, and in it lived Anthony and Samuel Littlefield. William Larrabee built it, and its cubic timber contents were thirteen thousand feet. It is described as being the largest building ever constructed in the ancient town. Bourne says the entire inhabitants of Kennebunk had been frequently gathered within the walls of this garrison,— "sometimes over two hundred."[1]

Such was this particular defence in the spring of 1724, when the savages appeared in the neighborhood of Arundel, where they shot Samuel Smith. In the following April a sloop sailed into Kennebunk River, Captain John Felt, master, after a lading of lumber and spars to be taken to the Gooch Creek Mill. With him as help were two soldiers from the Harding garrison,— William Wormwood and Ebenezer Lewis. The spars had been rolled off the landing and were in the stream. On the north side of the water was a jungle of verdure, and

[1] Bourne, pp. 317, 318.

it was here the savages had chosen their vantage-point. The men wrought on, unsuspicious of their danger, while the savages were waiting the moment favorable for a moderately long shot. There was a spit of smoke from the woods overhanging the stream, and Captain Felt toppled into the river. Lewis, hearing the gunshot, ran to the edge of the mill-brow, every step taking him nearer the concealed savages. There was another shot, and a bullet left a round red mark in Lewis's forehead. Wormwood ran, but, finding himself losing ground, backed against a huge stump, where, with the butt of his empty musket, he stood at bay until the savages had riddled his body with bullets. He had taken the gun of another, not his own. It had missed fire. Preferring death to capture, he told his savage assailants that if he had his own gun he would have dropped one of them as the price of his life. The three men were buried in a field near some boulders once known as Butland's Rocks. This butchery occurred April 25, 1724.

The settlers at once organized a posse and started after the savages. There were some twenty in this party, one of whom was John Webber, whose enthusiasm led him to plunge somewhat in advance, until, coming to a heap of brushwood, he mounted it for a survey of the adjacent country. After looking about as long as he desired he went back to report; and, convinced that they were too late for any efficient service, they went homeward.

After the war, when the savages began to show themselves among the English, some of them gave a particular account of the massacre at the saw-mill on the Kennebunk River. One of them, Wawa, the chief sachem of the remnant of the Sacos, related how he lay hid under the brush-heap while Webber stood upon it. He could easily have shot him, but he knew it would bring others upon him, Webber's companions being near at hand. The savages were being very closely watched, which they realized, and this made them doubly wary, and lessened somewhat their depredations. Then there was among the English a greater disposition to solidarity, there being more of them, numerically, than at the beginning of Queen Anne's War. While the savage was less courageous, the English were in a corresponding degree more confident.

In New Hampshire the savages began in May to skulk in the neighborhood of Oyster River. James Nock was the first victim in that vicinity.[1] He had ridden off to look at some traps he had set for beavers. He was shot from his horse as he was riding through the woods homeward.

At Kingston they captured two children of Ebenezer Stevens; also two men,— Peter Colcord and Ephraim Stevens. A party of rescuers went after

[1] Belknap gives Nock's Christian name as James; Penhallow has it Sylvanus.

Penhallow, p. 99.

Belknap, p. 204.

them, but it was a futile effort. Colcord, six weeks after, made his escape. For the information he was able to give of the savages the Assembly voted him ten pounds. May 24, 1724, Sunday, the savages ambushed the Oyster River trail. George Chesley and Elizabeth Burnham were making their way home from church. The hidden savages killed the man and mortally wounded the woman. A few days later five savages went into Chester. They captured Thomas Smith and John Carr.

Starting on the trail for Canada, they had gone some thirty miles into the woods; and, binding their captives, as they supposed, securely, they lay down to sleep. Working loose of their bonds in the night, the two men stole away, satisfied to leave their captors their scalps. Three days later they were safe in the Londonderry garrison. Hannah Dustin would undoubtedly have brought those five scalps along; but then, Hannah was a brave woman.

Oyster River was apparently considered by the savages as safe ground for them in which to operate successfully, being much exposed. A company of volunteers under Abraham Benwick were inclined to go in that direction for discovery. It was June 10, and Moses Davis and a son of the same Christian name were at work among the corn in one of the Davis fields. Getting thirsty, they went to a near-by rivulet for some water, to come upon three Indian packs. The company coming up, Davis told

Benwick of his discovery, and offered to show them the packs. Leading the way to the little stream, they were met with a volley from the savages in ambush. Both the Davis men were killed. Benwick's company returned the fire, killing one of the Indians and wounding two others. The latter, however, made their escape, though the white men followed the blood-stains for a considerable distance.[1]

Benwick reported the savage killed as evidently a man of some distinction among his people, as he wore a head-dress of fur, dyed scarlet, with an ornament of four small bells, by the sounding of which his followers might keep trace of him. His hair was singularly soft and fine, and on his person was "a devotional book and a muster-roll of one hundred and eighty Indians;" from which circumstance it was supposed he was a natural son of the Jesuit Ralé, by an Indian woman who had served him as a laundress.[2] His scalp was presented to the governor and council, by Robert Burnham, and the promised bounty was paid to Captain Francis Matthews, in trust for the company, which proved a very good venture for them all.

An early event to mark the atrocities of 1724 was

[1] Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 99.

This was June 10, 1724.

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 204.

[2] *2 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, vol. viii., p. 256.

the killing of Sergeant Smith, who was connected with the fort at Cape Porpoise. This happened on Vaughn's Island, March 23. The same day another man was shot, at Cape Porpoise, near the site of the old meeting-house, which stood not far from the shore.

Reference has been made to the killing of William Mitchell, of Scarborough. This happened April 17, as Mitchell was plowing in his field. His two sons were with him. They were taken eastward as far as Norridgewock, where Moulton found them when he made his raid of the following August.

Contemporary with this incident, Captain Winslow set out, with two boats' crews, from St. Georges for the Green Islands, where the savages were accustomed to go for game; but the place was apparently deserted. Returning, they came down the Narrows in the stream, to run into an ambush. The savages occupied both sides of the river, and as soon as the English came within gunshot the latter were met with two volleys of musketry. One boat was commanded by Sergeant Harvey, who was running close in shore. He made a vigorous fight, but the savages, being under cover, had the greater advantage. Harvey was killed, and his crew were overpowered. Captain Winslow's boat had passed on ahead, and out of range of the savages, who were accustomed to use light charges in their guns; but upon hearing the guns behind, he at once turned to go to Harvey's assistance, to find him-

self in the midst of thirty canoes loaded with savages.

Nothing daunted, he opened fire upon the latter, keeping up the fight until sundown. With his thigh broken and most of his men killed or wounded, he got his boat ashore, where he was again attacked, and killed. Only one or two of the English escaped. Winslow's disaster was doubtless owing to a sense of over-security, a failing that cut off many of the English. The killing of Felt on the Kennebunk River happened almost under the gates of Harding's garrison, yet the Indians were able to accomplish the death of three men here.

The country adjacent to Dover seemed to be infested with savages throughout the summer of 1724. At Dover were several families of Quakers. Their peculiar religious tenets led them to disapprove of any measures for the defence of their homes or households. One of these was Ebenezer Downs. He was taken by the savages, and, refusing to dance or otherwise amuse his captors as did some of the prisoners who were possessed of lighter scruples, possibly, he was treated by the savages with great brutality. Another of these Quakers, John Hanson, who had his house on the skirts of the Dover settlement, had been repeatedly urged to remove his family to the garrison, but could not be persuaded to do so. His home had been singled out by a party of French Mohawks as an easy mark, and for several days they lay in ambush, awaiting

the favorable moment when they might safely carry out their design. The day came when Hanson and his oldest daughter had gone to a weekly meeting of their sect. His two eldest sons were at work in a meadow at some distance from the house, where the wife had been left with her four children. It was the opportunity for which the savages had been waiting. They went to the house, and before they had left it they had killed and scalped the children; but the wife and her infant of fourteen days of age, with the nurse, two other daughters, and a younger son, they carried off, after they had ransacked the place. So quietly was the matter accomplished that the first to discover the butchery was the eldest daughter, as she crossed the threshold upon her return from the meeting. She came upon the two children by the door, and it was her cry of terror that first aroused the neighbors and her brothers in the meadow. Mrs. Hanson, who had been taken into the edge of the woods, heard the cry, but could not respond.[1]

[1] "A narrative of their distresses is in print. The woman, though of a tender constitution, had a firm and vigorous mind, and passed through the hardships of an Indian captivity, with much resolution and patience. When her milk failed, she supported her infant with water, which she warmed in her mouth, and dropped on her breast, till the squaws taught her to beat the kernels of walnuts and boil them with bruised corn, which proved a nourishing food for her babe. They were all sold to the French in Canada. Hanson went

The people of Dover becoming alarmed, a party at once went in pursuit of the savages, who got away with their captives. Hanson at once left his house for that of a neighbor of the same religion, who was blessed with "a number of lusty sons, and always kept his firearms in good condition for the purpose of shooting game."[1]

After this, the savages came upon Groton, but they were so hotly pursued that they dropped their packs in their flight.[2] A band of savages were reported to have shown themselves in the Connecticut Valley, above Deerfield. Captain Thomas Wells got together some men and started out after them. His experience was much like that of Cap-

the next spring and redeemed his wife, the three younger children and the nurse but he could not obtain the elder daughter of seventeen years old, though he saw and conversed with her. He also redeemed Ebenezer Downs. He made a second attempt in 1727, but died at Crown-point, on his way to Canada. The girl was married to a Frenchman and never returned."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 205, note.

[1] *Ibid*, p. 205.

[2] This was doubtless the raid on Groton, July 9, in which John Ames was killed while hunting his pasture for his horse. He lived on the west side of Nashua River, and was the last man killed in Groton in this war. After killing Ames the Indian crept up to the Ames cabin and had one foot across the threshold when he was discovered by a son of Ames, who was in the house with his sister. He shut the door, but the Indian's foot was in the crack. Pounding the

tain Winslow on his trip to Green Island. Wells went up river some little distance, but met nothing. The party were making their return homeward leisurely. Not apprehending any danger, the company were riding in disorder, some three being ahead of the main body. They were four miles from Deerfield, and, dipping down into a bit of swamp-land, they were met with a hail of bullets, and these three were instantly killed. Wells and the larger party heard the guns, and, spurring their horses, came upon the savages scalping their victims. The English at once opened fire, wounding several. The savages ran into the swamp, and the English, throwing themselves from their horses, followed them for some considerable distance into

foot of the savage intruder with the butt of a musket, while the sister loaded another, he finally shot the Indian. As the latter fell, the boy closed and barred the door.

Butler's *Groton*, p. 111.

Green's *Historical Sketch of Groton*, p. 58.

The savages were in the neighborhood of Northfield, June 24, 1724. Captain Wells went in pursuit, June 27. Three of his scouts were ambushed.

Sheldon's *Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 420.

Houses of settlers at the Bars were plundered, July 8.

Ibid, p. 423.

Green, *Historical Sketch of Groton*, p. 58.

Butler, *History of Groton*, vol. i., p. 111

Attack settlers at North Meadows, July 20.

Sheldon, vol. i., p. 424.

the jungle, but were unable to come up with them. They captured ten packs, to bring them into Deerfield as trophies of the expedition.

On July 17 the savages were at Spurwink. Here they lay in wait for some one to come out of the garrison. That misfortune fell to Solomon Jordan. Hardly had he left the garrison gate than he was shot. The next day Lieutenant Bean went out with a party from the garrison to search for the savages. He surprised some thirty, whom he at once attacked and sent off on the run, so that he gathered up twenty-five of their packs, a dozen blankets, a gun, and some other things. An Indian sachem was killed, and his scalp taken to Boston, for which the province paid one hundred pounds.[1]

Comparing Queen Anne's War with that closed by the Peace of Utrecht, the New England frontiers had not, so far, been subjected to any important invasions. While the settlers were harassed by small, roving bands of savages, their depredations would have been less injurious to life had the settlers been less careless. Fewer houses were burned; and as for the larger towns, they were practically undisturbed. For the Indians, owing to their method of carrying on an offensive campaign, the results were not encouraging; for they had lost in killed and prisoners a number very

[1] *N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i.
Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 100.

nearly equal to the losses of the settlers. They had suffered with every open attack.

It was in this year the savages conceived the idea of preying on the English fishermen. They had made one or two captures as one schooner or another had sailed into some one of the numerous inlets along the coast. So successful were they in one or two instances that they made up a fleet of fifty canoes, intending to go to Monhegan;[1] but, going to the Fox Islands instead, they there found a considerable fishing-fleet. The savages captured eight of these, with forty men, twenty of whom they butchered. The others they kept to use as navigators. They afterward captured fourteen more fishing-smacks; and, being joined by some Indians from Cape Sable, they cleaned the eastern seas of fishermen.

Their next enterprise was to sail up to St. Georges Fort. They were intending to burn that garrison; and, loading two shallops with inflammable stuff, they set them adrift when well ablaze; but the garrison was unharmed. They then demanded a surrender, which was refused, upon which they pulled up their anchors and sailed away

[1] "An island on the east side of Kennebec River, and about 10 miles from the main: celebrated as the place where Capt. John Smith landed in 1614; here he built some houses, the remains of which were to be seen, when Judge Sullivan wrote his history of Maine. It is spelt Moheagan."

Drake's *French and Indian Wars*, p. 222.

to Annapolis, intending to surprise the fort at that place; but in attempting to shoot a soldier in the vicinity, the alarm was taken. The English made a sortie against the invaders, putting them utterly to rout, without the loss of a man.

These freebooters growing more bold with every successful enterprise, two English shallops were fitted out, and manned by some forty men. They went from New Hampshire. They came upon the savage water-pirates, but when near enough to engage them they lost their courage and sailed back to Portsmouth, while the savages scoured the eastern coast-line of the Gulf of Maine. Another party was made up, under Doctor Jackson, of Kittery, and Sylvanus Lakeman, of Ipswich. They came upon the freebooters and chased them into Penobscot Bay, where the English found a larger body of Indians and were compelled to pull out of the engagement, with the doctor and Mr. Cutts, also of Kittery, both seriously wounded. This was the end of the naval exploits of the English and the savages.

It was determined by the authorities to make an end of the hotbed of savagery at Norridgewock. The Westbrook expedition had most definitely settled the question of Ralé's complicity in the general design of exterminating the settlers along the New England frontier; and it was as apparent that he was not only the agent of France under pay, but, as well, by virtue of his religious cult, a

dangerous incendiarist, whose larger mission was to incite the Abenake to constant deeds of violence and butchery against the heretic settler.

Efforts had been made to induce the French to use their influence in terminating these atrocities. A commission had been to Canada for that purpose; but the matter of recalling the savages to peace was beyond them. The savages wrought unrestrained at their deviltries, and in 1724 there had been a series of small but ferocious depredations. The settlers were butchered every day, and the expertness of these dusky fiends in contriving ambuscades, roaming the country, as they did, in small parties, was so baffling to the soldiers sent out upon their trails that they afforded but slight protection. Safety lay within the garrison walls, and nowhere else. The savages knew every forest cave and defile; every bend in the stream and its shadowed fringe of bushes.

Bourne remarks that although the Indian possessed infinite ingenuity in secreting himself from his pursuers, he was singularly lacking in his powers of discernment in ferreting out the hiding-places of the white man; and he cites the singular escape of Richard Kimball, who was one time traveling from his house to a landing on the Kennebunk River road. He was passing the mouth of Wonder Brook, to unexpectedly come upon a band of savages. He leaped from his horse and crawled under a log that ran out from the bank into the stream.

He escaped; but it may be regarded as a miracle that he did, if there was actually any search for him by the savages.[1]

The savage was an expert reader of the woodland floors. The leaves and twigs underfoot were like the leaves of an open book. To have escaped his ear a footfall must have been lighter than the leaf dropping through the air; to have escaped his vision one must have had the power to dissolve into the intangibility of the atmosphere one breathed. What was silence to the English settler was a medley of audible sounds to the savage. His nostrils

[1] "At another time the Littlefield mill was in operation, and the owners were getting out lumber. Boards were sent to the Port by rafts. Gondolas had not then come in use. Samuel Littlefield, one of the owners of the mill, who, to distinguish him from another of the same name, was generally known as Fat Sam, was engaged in rafting. He was alone in his work. But possessing remarkable strength he was able to manage his raft without help. As he was working down the river he discovered several of the enemy; he instantly brought his raft to the shore on the opposite side and hid himself under a windfall. They passed directly by it but did not discover him. He then returned to the river and proceeded with his raft. Our only explanation of this failure of their martial strategy, is to be found in the general cowardice of these savages. In looking over the history of these early wars, it will be seen that they seldom captured any one who had his gun with him. They knew that an attempt to take one thus armed, would almost certainly result in the death of some one of their number, and the discharge of a single

were those of the fox, and the latter's pad was no lighter than the Indian's footfall. No one knew this better than Harmon, of York, who was shortly to have opportunity to pit his backwoods schooling against the savage instinct.

Dummer had acceded to the exactions of the representatives, who, having the direction of the war in their hands, no longer delayed in affording the governor the means to carry on the war against the eastern Indians.

The most important movement of the year was now set on foot. Four companies were mobilized,

gun would at once arouse all within the hearing of it. Every man was required to carry his gun with him when going any material distance from his home or place of labor. Kimball and Littlefield, we infer, were thus armed. At least the Indians thought so. And knowing that any one who should be in a position to discover them, must also be himself discovered, and thus receive the contents of their guns, they never dared to push their investigations too far. They felt it was not safe to look through or under the windfall, or over the bank of the brook. Assured of this cowardice as an element of Indian character, the women frequently availed themselves of the use of the musket. The grandmother of one of the ladies of Kennebunk, by accident, was left alone in the evening with a little child; and being satisfied by the motion of some of the growing vegetation in the garden, that it was disturbed by some living object making its way toward the house, she seized the gun and fired. Immediately three Indians jumped up, and with all speed fled to the forests."

Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, pp. 322, 323.

under Captains Harmon, Moulton, and Brown, and Lieutenant Bean. Ralé was to be disposed of for once and all. Norridgewock was to be obliterated. The work was to be thorough, and this particular tribe dispersed. The rendezvous was at Fort Richmond. Once Moulton's troops had arrived, they set out for the Falls (Ticonic), in seventeen whale-boats, on August 8, 1724. In the party were two hundred eight men, mostly backwoodsmen, who were adepts in the arts of Indian warfare, as was Moulton.[1]

Arriving at the Falls, they beached their boats and went into camp for the day, secreting themselves in the deeper woods. When night came Moulton got his men together and set out through the most secret defiles for Norridgewock. Moulton

[1] "After they landed at Triconnick, they met with Bomazeen at Brunswick, (who had slain an Englishman some days before) whom they shot in the river, as he attempted to make an escape."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 102.

Bomazeen was a sachem of the Canibas, or Kennebecs. Hutchinson says he was "a principal actor in the carnage upon the English." He was one of the sachems seized at the Pemaquid fort and sent to Boston, where he was confined in the common jail (1664). He was one of the signers of the Portsmouth Treaty of June, 1713. It was Cotton Mather who recorded Bomazeen's statement that the French made many Indians believe that "Jesus Christ was a Frenchman, and the Virgin Mary a French woman."

Drake's *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 111.

and his men were out to kill. They had scented their game, and were silently closing in upon their quarry. So silently had they threaded the forest that they were themselves surprised to discover two savage forms speeding away into the deeper darkness. One of the troops fired. There was a cry, and one of the fugitives had dropped upon the woodland floor. When the English came they found the wife of Bomazeen bending over the body of her daughter.[1] It was a fatal shot. A few moments later, the mother, in her terror of these swarthy men, had consented to betray her kindred. She not only gave them an account of the Norridgewock village, but was guiding them toward its destruction.

On the afternoon of August 12 they were almost at the edge of Ralé's settlement, about which reigned the supreme quiet of the woodlands. Their somnolent mystery lent to the sunshot Norridgewock trail the thrall of an ominous tragedy. Two miles further on were the wigwams and the chapels of Bomazeen and Ralé. Moulton now separated his force into three divisions. Moulton was to make his attack directly upon the village; Harmon,

[1] "When Capt. Moulton was sent up to Nerigwok, in 1724, they fell in with Bomazeen about Taconnet, where they shot him as he was escaping through the river. Near the town of Nerigwok, his wife and daughter were, in a barbarous manner, fired upon, the daughter killed, and the mother taken."
Drake, *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 111.

with sixty (another writer says eighty) men[1], was to make a flank movement on the maize-field beyond the village, which would enable these two, by Harmon's approach through the maize, which was shoulder high, to practically surround the village. The third division was evidently to be held in reserve, some of which were posted as a guard over the camp supplies.

Moulton came to the edge of the woods first. The village lay before him in the sunshine of that mid-August afternoon, a scene of somnolent quiet. He was waiting for Harmon to get into the maize. The old stockade had disappeared, and it is possible that Moulton's first thought was that his prey had escaped him, as it had Westbrook two years before; for not a sign of vitality was evident as he looked out upon this huddle of unprotected wigwams. Over the tops of the smokeless wigwams was the bark roof of the chapel; but that, too, was voiceless.[2]

[1]Parkman says eighty men.
Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, p. 246.
Penhallow, sixty.
Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 102.

[2]"There was here a handsome church, with a bell, on which the English committed a double sacrilege, first robbing it, then setting it on fire; herein surpassing the act of the first English circumnavigator, in his depredations upon the Spaniards in South America; for he only took away the gold and silver vessels of a church, and its crucifix, because it

But Harmon was at last making his way through the tasseled maize, and Moulton had broken through the tangle of the forest rim. A savage emerged from one of the huts. With a startled whoop of alarm he ran for his gun. An echoing shot broke the drowsy silence, and the massacre of Norridgewock was on. Moulton ordered his men to reserve their fire. Among the huts the savages, men, women, and children, were mingled in the confusion of terror and uncertainty.

The savages in their desperation emptied their guns upon the English, but none of the latter were harmed. It was then Moulton gave the order to fire, and a deliberate and deadly hail of bullets was poured into the huddled Norridgewocks, which was promptly followed by another volley from Harmon's men. Then the savages broke for the river, which at the time was flowing with a strong current. Many were drowned, and more fell under the unerring fire of Moulton's men, who could take their own time; and no doubt, as they glanced along their musket-barrels, there was a gleam of the ruddy York of 1690 to light each bullet to its living target.

was of massy gold, set about with diamonds, and that, too, upon the advice of his chaplain. 'This might pass,' says a reverend author, 'for sea divinity, but justice is quite another thing.' Perhaps it will be as well to inquire here what kind of divinity would authorize the acts recorded in these wars, or indeed any wars."

Drake's *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 120.

In this fight hardly a savage got away. While Moulton's pursuit toward the river cut off the bulk of the fugitives, Harmon's approach through the maize-field kept others in the village. Among these were some of Moulton's men, who suffered more from Harmon's mistaken fire than from that of the savages. The last act was on. Lieutenant Jacques[1] was at the door of Ralé's cabin. The priest was loading a gun. Jacques called upon him to surrender. Ralé refused. It was the priest or the backwoodsman who had to die. Jacques's gun was at his shoulder. In a moment an English bullet crashed into the skull of the Jesuit.[2] Bomazeen

[1]In Governor Shirley's War, 1744, a call was made upon the settlers at Brunswick for enlistments for the Louisburg expedition. Many of the Brunswick settlers answered the call, some twenty-five to thirty. As many more went from Harpswell; and others from Topsham. The Harpswell forces were under the command of Richard Jacques, the same who shot Sebastian Ralé in the Moulton raid on Norridgewock.

Pejepscot Papers.

McKeen, *MS. Lectures.*

Wheeler, *History of Brunswick*, p. 57.

[2]There is a valuable memoir of Ralé in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. viii., p. 250, which differs from Penhallow.

Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, p. 282.

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. i., p. 247.

Sprague, *Monograph on Sebastian Ralé.*

Sheldon's *Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 427.

"The famous Raslé shut himself up in his house, from

had been shot by some of Moulton's party below the Ticonic Falls, and only Mogg remained.[1] The English found him in one of the huts, from which ambush he had killed one of Moulton's Mohawk guides, a brother of whom broke in Mogg's door,

which he fired upon the English; and, having wounded one, Lieut. Jaques, of Newbury, burst open the door and shot him through the head; although Moulton had given orders that none should kill him. He had an English boy with him, about 14 years old, who had been taken some time before from the frontiers, and whom the English reported Raslé was about to kill. Great brutality and ferocity are chargeable to the English in this affair, according to their own account; such as killing women and children, and scalping and mangling the body of Father Raslé."

Drake's *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 119.

[1]Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. i., p. 247.

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 104.

"They had scarcely left the village when one of the two surviving Mohawks, named Christian, secretly turned back, set fire to the church and the houses, and then rejoined the party."

Note to above: "The above rests on the account of Hutchinson, which was taken from the official journal of Harmon, the commander of the expedition, and from the oral statements of Moulton, whom Hutchinson examined on the subject. Charlevoix, following a letter of La Chasse in the Jesuit *Lettres Edifiantes*, gives a widely different story. According to him, Norridgewock was surprised by eleven hundred men, who first announced their presence by a general volley, riddling all the houses with bullets. Ralé, says La Chasse, ran out to save his flock by drawing the rage of the

to make a swift reprisal; and the last of the Norridgewock sachems was blotted out. Here were Mogg's wife and children, who were shot by the English who crowded into the hut after the Mohawk.

After plundering the village, in which they found three barrels of gunpowder, picking up the guns, blankets, and kettles, they finished by despoiling the chapels, after which the place was given to the flames. Everything was burned, even the canoes. An hour later the village of the Norridgewocks was obliterate. Twenty-six Indian scalps were taken, and four captives.

Penhallow estimates the whole number of savages killed in this fight as eighty. This was a blow from which this particular tribe never recovered, its leaderless remnants shortly after seeking the shelter of St. Francis de Sales, across the Canadian border.

Getting back to the Falls, Moulton found his

enemy on himself; on which they raised a great shout and shot him dead at the foot of the cross in the middle of the village. La Chasse does not tell us where he got the story; but as there were no French witnesses, the story must have come from the Indians, who are notorious liars where their interest and self-love are concerned. Nobody competent to judge of evidence can doubt which of the two statements is the most trustworthy."

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. i., p. 248.

boats as he had left them; and, embarking, he made his way westward without further incident, with the only regret that he had not taken Ralé alive.[1] This expedition did not bring the war to a close; for, not long after, small, roving parties of Indians

[1] "There were not above fifty fighting men in the village. These took to their arms, and ran out in confusion, not with any expectation of defending the place against an enemy already in possession, but to favor the escape of their wives, their old men and children, and to give them time to gain the other side of the river, of which the English had not then possessed themselves.

"The noise and tumult gave Father Rasles notice of the danger his converts were in. Not intimidated, he went out to meet the assailants in hopes to draw all attention to himself and secure his flock at the peril of his own life. He was not disappointed. As soon as he appeared, the English set up a shout, which was followed by a shower of shot, and he fell near a cross which he had erected in the middle of the village, and with him seven Indians, who had accompanied him to shelter him with their own bodies. The Indians, in the greatest consternation at his death, immediately took to flight, and crossed the river, some by fording, and others swimming. The enemy pursued them until they entered far into the woods; and then returned, and pillaged and burnt the church and the wigwams. Notwithstanding so many shot had been fired, only thirty of the Indians had been slain, and fourteen wounded. After having accomplished their object, the English withdrew with such precipitation that it seemed rather a flight than a victory. *2 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, viii., 254, 255."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 206, note.

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. i., p. 247.

hovered about Dunstable, killing cattle and now and then waylaying a settler whose inconsiderateness had led him into their power.

The savages were wary in exposing themselves on this raid. They captured two men, who were not missed until some time had elapsed, when (September 5, 1724) a small search-party was sent out, hoping to find some trace of them; but they ran upon the Indians unawares. Of the eleven[1] men who made up this party, nine were killed by one volley from the thirteen savages, who, hearing their approach, had hidden themselves among the bushes that bordered the trail the white men were following. Only two of this party made their escape, one of whom was seriously wounded.[2]

[1] Penhallow says *fourteen*. Belknap's authority seems to be unexceptionable.

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 208, note.

[2] "The persons taken were Nathan Cross and Thomas Blanchard, who had been engaged in the manufacture of turpentine on the north side of the Nashua River, near where Nashua village now stands. At that time, there were no houses or settlements on that side of the river. These men had been in the habit of returning every night to lodge in a saw-mill on the other side of the river. That night they came not as usual. An alarm was given, as it was feared they had fallen into the hands of the Indians. A party of ten consisting of the principal inhabitants of the place started in search of them under the direction of one French, a sergeant of the militia. In this company was Joseph Farwell, who was next year lieutenant under Lovewell. When this party arrived at

Not long afterward another scouting-party of the English were ambushed. The latter at once engaged the savages, but, being in larger force, they compelled the English to leave the fight with one killed and four wounded. Two days later, at Kingston, Jabez Coleman and his son, Joseph, were at work in their field gathering corn. The savages stole upon them and shot both.

It was within a few days of this event that the savages crossed over into Northampton, where they killed Nathaniel Edwards. The next day the same party of savages came into Westfield. The Westfield settlers were many of them at work in their fields, and as they were leaving them with

the spot these men had been laboring, they found the hoops of the barrel cut, and the turpentine spread on the ground. From certain marks on the trees made from coal mixed with grease, they understood the men were taken and carried off alive. In the course of the examination, Farwell perceived the turpentine had not ceased spreading, and called the attention of his comrades to this circumstance. They concluded the Indians had been gone but a short time, and must be near, and decided upon an instant pursuit. Farwell advised them to take a circuitous route to avoid an ambush; but unfortunately, he and French had a short time previous had a misunderstanding, and were then at variance. French imputed this advice to cowardice, and called out, 'I am going to take the direct path; if any of you are not afraid, let him follow me.' French led the way and the whole party followed him, Farwell falling in the rear. Their route was up the Merrimack, towards which they bent their course to look for their horses upon the interval. At the brook, near Lutwyche's

their loaded carts they were attacked by the savages. One of the men who had been wounded came near falling into the hands of the Indians, but some of the settlers, having their guns along, met their assailants boldly. Penhallow notes a singular circumstance; for it is from him the story is borrowed. Every gun except one missed fire, that of Noah Ashley's. He made a good shot, which operated to put the savages to their heels. The settlers rallied, and, pursuing them, came upon the savage shot by Ashley. Scalping him, they sent the trophy to Boston, for which they received one hundred pounds, "which proved to be a very excellent day's work."

(now Thornton's) ferry, they were way-laid. The Indians fired upon them and killed the larger part instantly. A few fled, but were overtaken and destroyed. French was killed about a mile from the place of action, under an oak tree, lately standing in a field belonging to Mr. Lund of Merrimack. Farwell, in the rear, seeing those before him fall, sprung behind a tree, discharged his piece and ran. Two Indians pursued him: the chase was vigorously maintained for some time, without gaining much advantage, till Farwell passing through a thicket, the Indians lost sight of him, and probably fearing he might have loaded again, they desisted. He was the only one of the company that escaped. A company from the neighborhood mustered on the news of this disaster, proceeded to the fatal spot, took up the bodies of their friends and townsmen, and interred them in the burying ground in Dunstable."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 207, note.

Pennallow says it was this fall that Colonel Westbrook led another expedition into the Penobscot country; but "by the unskillfulness of his guides, were led into a labyrinth of difficulties, and after a long fatigue, returned without any discovery."[1]

Captain Lovewell, who afterward lost his life at the Lovewell Pond fight the following year, led a company of thirty men to the northward of Winnipiseogee Lake, where they came upon a lone wigwam. In it were a man and a boy. They killed the savage for his scalp, but brought the boy to Boston.[2] What became of the boy Penhallow does not say. Belknap evidently takes Penhallow's relation, as he throws no light upon the matter.

This success led Lovewell at once to undertake another expedition. He set out with seventy men. Going to the lake, to the wigwam where he killed the savage, they found the body as he had left it. Short of provisions, he sent thirty of his men home. They were dismissed by lot. The forty remaining with Lovewell pushed on through the snow,— for it was the twentieth of February,— and, coming upon a newly made trail, they followed it with great caution, until, just before sunset, they discerned a smoke curling through the tops of the trees. They had found the object for which they had come so

[1]No other contemporary writer makes mention of this later expedition of Westbrook.

[2]Penhallow, p. 107.

far into the wilderness. The savages had camped for the night. Lovewell and his men crept slowly and noiselessly toward the shelter of the savages. When they had come so near that they could smell the smoke of the lean-to fire they set a guard, while the others of Lovewell's party wrapped themselves in their blankets and lay down under the evergreens to sleep until midnight. Judging by the stars that it was time to move, Lovewell got his men into line and the stealthy advance was begun upon the savages, whose fire indicated that they were asleep. These men of Lovewell's were like so many wraiths as they dodged the bent-down snow-laden limbs of the trees, until they stood in a silent circle around the ten savages they found wrapped in slumber. On one side were the deep, silent woods; on the other was a stretch of frozen pond. Lovewell whispered his orders. Five of the men were to fire simultaneously upon signal; another squad of five were to reserve their fire. The signal was a shot from Lovewell's gun.

The sharp report of Lovewell's musket startled the slumberers. Instantly, five musket-shots broke the breathless moment. Their echoes crashed across the ice-bound pond to the further woods, when five other muskets caught their lessening fragments of sound to send them broken and scurrying down the highway of the night. Nine of the savages were killed outright. The survivor, wounded, endeavored to escape by a flight across

the ice, but was caught by a dog and detained until another shot killed him. Belknap says these savages were marching from Canada; that they were well equipped with new guns and an abundance of ammunition, with "spare blankets, mockaseens and snow-shoes for the accommodation of the prisoners they expected to take, and were within two days' march of the frontiers."[1]

[1]Belknap, p. 209.

An expedition, under Capt. Samuel Wheelright, that set out from Wells in November of 1724 shows a softer metal, and is in sharp contrast to the hardihood and bravery of Lovewell's men.

Peter Talcott, who had been captured by the savages, made his escape. He gave to the governor information as to the locality of the Indians' village, by reason of which Capt. Samuel Wheelright of Wells was equipped with a company of soldiers and despatched to Pequawket. He was instructed to take along, as a guide, Stephen Harding, whose garrison was at the mouth of the Kennebunk River. The savages were supposed to be near Lovel's Pond. Wheelright went on his errand after the Pequawkets. His relation of the disappointments of the expedition is recorded by him in the *Journal of Captain Samuel Wheelright in a March from Wells to Pigwackell, Wells, 1724, Nov. 20.*

He drew out fifty of the posted men of York, Wells, and Arundel, with Lieutenant Brown as second officer, and Stephen Harding and Peter Talcot as "pilots." His *Journal* reads like a ship's log. It is here given entire:

"Nov. 21. Victualed my men. 23d. Lieut. Brown and Ensign Card came to Wells and victualed their men. 24th. Foul Weather. 25th. I set out and marched about 8 miles

On February 24, Lovewell, with his company, came into Dover, "the ten scalps stretched on hoops and elevated on poles;" after which they went to Boston, where they were paid one thousand pounds out of the Provincial treasury.[1] Penhallow says the muskets taken from the savages were of such fine quality that they were sold for seven pounds each. In addition, they captured a few skins; and he says of Lovewell's men that they were well supplied during the march "with

further, and by some reason of the snow on the bushes, we could go no further, and then campt, and that morning sent back three men sick. 27th. We marched about 15 miles and 4 men sent back sick. 28th. 12 men more I sent back sick, and some that detained us and so we marched but 10 miles. 29th. We marched about 18 miles. 29th. We lay still by reason of foul weather and the men being sick, we being then within 10 miles of Ossipee Pond. Dec. 1. In the morning when I came to muster the men in order to march, some were sick, some lame, and some down-hearted, and the snow being somewhat hard, so that I could not get above 18 or 20 that was fit to march forward. Upon which I called the officers together for advice, and so concluded to return again which was contrary to my inclination.

"3d. got home to Wells. SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT."

Wheelright's *Journal* is suggestive. Out of fifty able-bodied men, seven days of a sort of exposure to which they must for years have been inured put nineteen men out of commission. They were ten days making less than sixty miles.

Bourne, *History of Kennebunk*, p. 323.

[1] Belknap, p. 209.

moose, bear, and deer, together with salmon-trout, some of which were three feet long, and weighed twelve pounds apiece."[1] No one will dispute that Penhallow could tell something of a fish-story upon the proper incentive.

The destruction of Norridgewock and the death of Ralé aroused the mind of Vaudreuil to deeper schemes of vengeance upon the New England frontier. He at once engaged all the Canadian Indian converts in the common cause of revenging the death of Ralé.

Dummer brought Ralé's instigations of the Abenake home to Vaudreuil, which the latter did not deny, especially when Dummer took pains to inform the French governor of his letter to Ralé which had fallen into the hands of the Provincial authorities. But Vaudreuil spits back at Dummer: "You will have to answer to your King for his [Ralé's] murder;" to indignantly protest: "It would have been strange if I had abandoned our Indians to please you. I cannot help taking the part of our allies." And then, taking on some self-righteousness, the French governor, like a Pharisee, pulls his robes comfortably about himself to add, "You have brought your troubles upon yourself."

[1] Penhallow, p. 108.

Parkman describes Lovewell's party as being on the verge of starvation until by good fortune they killed a moose.

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. ii., p. 259.

Then, plucking audacity, he proclaims a covert threat: "I advise you to pull down all the forts you have built on the Abenaki lands since the Peace of Utrecht. If you do so, I will be your mediator with the Norridgewocks. As to the murder of Ralé, I leave that to be settled by the two Crowns."[1]

Dummer was in no wise disturbed, but answered Vaudreuil fairly.[2] Dummer was sincere

[1] *Vaudreuil à Dummer, 29 Octobre, 1724.*

[2] "Instead of preaching peace, love, and friendship, agreeably to the Christian religion, Ralé was an incendiary, as appears by many letters I have by me. He has once and again appeared at the head of a great many Indians, threatening and insulting us. If such a disturber of the peace has been killed in the heat of action, nobody is to blame but himself. I have much more cause to complain that Mr. Willard, minister of Rutland, who is innocent of all that is charged against Ralé, and always confined himself to preaching the Gospel, was slain and scalped by your Indians, and his scalp carried in triumph to Quebec."

Massachusetts Archives.

"The Indians, who were entirely under the influence of the French, were extremely haughty in their language and deportment; they demanded that the English should restore their lands, rebuild their church, which they had destroyed at Norridgewock, and when asked what land they referred to, said, 'that their land commenced at the River Gounitogon, otherwise called the long river, which lies to the west beyond Boston, that this river was formerly the boundary which separated the lands of the Iroquois from those of the Abenakis, that according to this boundary, Boston and the greater part of the English settlements east of it are in Abenakis lands;

in his desire for peace. As special envoys, Samuel Thaxter and Colonel William Dudley had been despatched to Governor Vaudreuil, who received them with great affability. Bearing Vaudreuil's letters to Ralé, when the former began to prevaricate they choked the lie in his throat by showing to him his instructions to his Jesuit agent at Norridgewock, which were unanswerable.[1] The Pro-

that they would be justified in telling them to quit there, but that they had considered that their settlements were established and that they were still inclined to tolerate them; but they demanded as an express condition of peace that the English should abandon the country from one league beyond Saco River to Port Royal, which was the line separating the lands of the Abenakis from those of the Micmacks.'

"The Abenakis denied that they had ever sold any land to the English, and when the latter claimed that much of it was theirs by a possession of more than eighty years, and that this possession gave them a title, the Indians replied, 'We were in possession before you, for we have held it from time immemorial.' The English delegates conceded that they did not claim beyond the west bank of the Narantsouak (Kennebec), and that the fort at St. George was built not by them, but by the government of Port Royal.

"The meeting seems to have been unsatisfactory to the delegation, and no treaty or arrangement was made. The French governor denied that they had furnished the Indians with arms, or instigated them to attack the English, although Vaudreuil's letters to his government in France bear abundant evidence that this was his constant policy."

Maine Hist. Coll., vol. vi., pp. 240, 241.

[1]Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. i., p. 252.

vincial envoys made a demand for the release of the English prisoners in Canada. They were able to get but sixteen, for whom they had to pay a heavy price. They bartered for ten others of the captured English, and the ransoms were agreed upon.

Before Thaxter and Dudley left Canada they had a conference with some of the Abenake, who were there at the time; but Vaudreuil had prepared them as to what they should say, so that the only result was the announcement that the war would go on. And the war did go on until the Indians, the following year, were willing to sue for the peace they had derided by reason of the crafty insinuations of Vaudreuil.

The English, still anxious for peace, sent a hostage and a captive (on their parole) to the Indians on the Penobscot, to sound them as to their disposition toward a treaty of peace. The priest Lauverjait was at that time in Canada. Prompted by St. Castin, the Tarratines expressed themselves as favorable to the consideration of the matter, and their conclusions were conveyed by a runner to the fort at St. Georges. This happened in February, 1725.

It was while these peace negotiations were pending that Captain Heath, with a company of soldiers from the Kennebec garrison, cut across the country, coming out upon the Penobscot River at the head of the tide, where they found a French and Indian fort which had been erected since the

Westbrook expedition to Passadumkeag. Here at the falls of the Penobscot were some fifty or sixty wigwams or huts; but they were deserted. Heath put the fire to them, and the settlement, with the fort, were burned.[1]

This incident, which Heath undertook possibly because he had nothing better to do, was so prejudicial to the peace project that it was immediately broken off; and a new incentive had been given the Tarratines to make some reprisals on the English when the spring opened.

But the English were anxious for peace, and, entering into an explanation of the matter, negotiations were reopened the following June. No sooner was this last effort well grounded than Captain John Pritchard, in an English vessel, appropriated by capture a small vessel, off Naskeag Point (Sedgewick), which belonged to St. Castin's younger brother, Joseph Dabadis, with a small lading of beaver-skins, along with some other chattels. This capture was accompanied with some personal ill-treatment of the half-breed, for which he made complaint to the Massachusetts governor in a letter of July 23, 1725.[2]

[1] Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. ii., p. 286.

[2] "Pentagoet, 23d July, 1725.

"Sir:—I have the honour to acquaint you that the 9th of this present month as j rode at anchor in a small harbor about three miles distant from Nesket, having with me but one indian and one Englishman whom j had redeemed from

Pending these efforts to procure a cessation of the ravages of the Indians, they had begun their work of killing and burning upon opportunity. It was on April 13, 1725, that a soldier by the name of Cockram was captured by two Indians in the

the savages, as well as my vessel, j was attacked by an English vessel, the Commander of which called himself Lieutenant of the King's ship, and told me also his name, which j cannot remember.

"Seeing myself thus attackt, and not finding myself able to defend myself, j withdrew into the wood forsaking my vessel. The Commander of the vessel called me back, promising me with an oath not to wrong me at all, saying that he was a merchant who had no design but to trade and was not fitted out for war, specially when there was a talk of peace, and presently set up a flag of truce, and even gave me two safe conducts by writing, both of which j have unhappily lost in the fight. Thus thinking myself safe enough, j came on board my vessel, with my jndian and my Englishman, whom j brought to show that j had no thoughts of fighting, and that j had redeemed him from the jndians as well as the vessel. But as j was going to put on my cloaths to dress myself more handsomely the Commander who was come in my vessel with severall of his people would not permit me to do it, telling me j was no more master of anything. He only granted me after many remonstrances to set me ashore.

"But after j came down and they held forth to me a bag full of bisket that was given to me as they said as a payment for my Englishman. They did catch hold of me and the jndian who accompanied me, j got rid of him who was going to seize upon me, but my jndian not being able to do the same, j betook myself to my arms—and after severall volleys j killed the man who kept him, and got him safe with me.

neighborhood of Maquoit Bay, which Sullivan[1] locates some twenty miles north of Cape Elizabeth. Cockram was only eighteen. They started off on the march, the first day making a journey of some

This is the second time that j have been thus treacherously used, which proceedings j do not suppose that you approve of, being against the laws of Nations. Therefore j hope that you will do me the justice, or that at least you will cause me to be reimbursed for the loss j have sustained.

"Namely,

"For the vessel that costed me 80 French pistoles; for the Englishman 10 pistoles; 51 pounds of beaver that were in the vessel with 20 otters, 3 coats that have costed me together 20 pistoles; 56 pounds of shot that costed me 20 pence a pound; 2 pounds of powder at 4 livres a pound; 20 pounds of tobacco at 20 pence a pound; a pair of scales 8 livres; Tow cloth blankets each 23 livres; Tow bear skins 8 livres apiece; 4 skins of sea wolf 8 livres for the four; 3 axes 15 livres for both; 2 kettles, 30 livres for both, and severall other matters, which they would not grant me, so much as my cup. The retaken Englishman knoweth the truth of all this, his name is Samuell Trask of the Town of Salem near to Marblehead.

j have the honour to be
Sir
Your most humble & most obedient Servant Joseph Dabadis De St. Castin."

Godfrey, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. vii., pp. 86-88.

[1]Sullivan, *History of Maine*, p. 14.
McKeen, *MS. Lecture.*
Penhallow, p. 109.

Wheeler (*History of Brunswick*, p. 56) gives the name of the lad as James Cochran.

thirty miles into the wilderness. They bound Cockram the first night, and, building their fire, lay down to sleep. The next morning they were again on the march, and when it came night they left him unbound. They built their fire, and finally lay down to sleep, with Cockram between them. When they were deep in slumber he managed to get his hand on one of their tomahawks, and, with a cool deliberation, killed his captors. Stripping them of their scalps, he took their guns and ammunition and made his way to the garrison — bringing, however, but one scalp and one gun, having lost a gun and a scalp as he was fording one of the many streams in that part of the country.

He told his story to Captain Gyles; and so anxious was the garrison to verify it that a party were sent back over the trail with him, and they came upon the two Indians he had killed. So creditable was the performance that the young man was given an advanced post at the garrison; but whether he received the Provincial bonus for the two scalps is not recorded.

In 1688 North Yarmouth had been destroyed by the savages. For nineteen years the place had been deserted. A short time previous to 1719 Nathaniel Weare had rebuilt the sawmill; and in May, 1722, those interested in North Yarmouth lands had deposited the records in the hands of Captain Samuel Phipps, of Charlestown, to keep them from falling into the hands of the savages, as

had those of Falmouth. Ten-acre lots were laid out from the Walter Gendal farm next to the Falmouth line to near the head of the tide on Royall's River. As a consequence, here was quite a settlement at this time (1725). For some reason it had escaped the raids of the savages in this Seven Years' War. But two or three days after the capture of young Cockram the savages came upon their settlement, where they waylaid William and Matthew Scales, by which the garrison at that place suffered a considerable loss, both being men of importance and its principal maintainers.

From this place they went to Cape Porpoise, where they hid in the woods until Lieutenant Trescott, with a party, going out on the road, gave them the opportunity for which they had been waiting. Before the English realized their situation the savages had emptied their guns upon them. Trescott seemed to be the object of their fire, as he was wounded in several places, but got away with the others.

A few days later a vessel came in from Canso, bringing a report of a raid by a party of seventy Indians upon a cabin which was near-by the garrison at that place. Seven men were killed; also a woman and her child. From that place they went to Captain Durell's Island, where they attacked a garrison in which there were but four men, who made a brisk defence, with the loss of one man. He was killed by a bullet that came in through a

port-hole. The savages, having several killed and wounded, drew off and left the island.

It was in this manner the savages were still continuing their depredations along the frontiers. As fast as the savages made their captures they took their captives to Canada, where they sold them to the French for a nominal sum; and the French, when the captives came to be ransomed by the English, made the ransom a heavy one, by which they made a handsome profit — and this in a time of peace between England and France. It is evident that the two powers winked at these proceedings, which but emphasizes the small esteem that obtained in the Mother Country for her new England Colony along the Gulf of Maine. It is evident the Puritan was not a source of solicitous anxiety to the English Ministry. But since the destruction of Norridgewock matters were looking up for the English settler.

The adventures of Captain Lovewell in the latter part of 1724 and the early months of the following year were not without some assurance to the frontier that the end of this long-drawn-out series of savage depredations was in its own hands. Boldly adventurous, and actuated with that belief, Lovewell determined upon an expedition to the headquarters of the Saco, where the Pequawkets had their corn-fields and their tribal habitat. In those days it was wholly unlike what it is now, with its lengthening acres of smooth intervales that

border the Saco River for miles among the broken foot-hills of the White Mountains, famous in these days for its picturesque charm and its bold scenery.

In the days when Lovewell found his way to that broad-faced sheet of water that bears his name it was a rugged, pathless wilderness. The plateau above the Crawford Notch, where the Saco had its rise in a little pond that wears always the color of the sky, was a jungle of swampy thicket. The gorge through which it finds its way into the deep valley under the purple shadows of Mount Webster is doubtless much the same as in those wild days. Down the sides of the mountains unwind the same ribbons of silver, and the river sings the same old songs of the centuries as when Darby Field made his way hither in the early half of the seventeenth century.[1] The Saco still winds down

[1] Darby Field was the first white explorer of this mountain country. He made the trip in 1642. Thomas Gorges, a relative of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the once proprietor of the Palatinate of Maine, enthused by Darby Field's glowing account, made the trip that same year. They were fifteen days on the trail, going.

The earliest narrative descriptive of the Saco Valley and the White Mountain region is found in John Josselyn's *New England Rarities Discovered* (1672). Josselyn was a guest of his brother Harry, at Black Point (Prout's Neck), and made the trip in some one of the years between 1663 and 1671. He writes: "Fourscore miles (upon a direct line), to the northwest of Scarborough, a ridge of mountains runs northwest and northeast an hundred leagues, known by the

a wooded valley for some distance, with many a twist and turn, to where was the ancient home of the Sokoki at Pequawket (Conway).

With the first coming of the English the aborigines had their clustered wigwams at Saco Falls, near Indian Island. As the cabins of the English thickened the aborigine fell back into the wilder-

name of the White Mountains, upon which lieth snow all the year, and is a landmark twenty miles off at sea. It is a rising ground from the sea-shore to these hills, and they are inaccessible but by the gullies which the dissolved snow hath made. In these gullies grow savin bushes, which, being taken hold of, are a good help to the climbing discoverer. Upon the top of the highest of these mountains is a large level or plain, of a day's journey over, whereon nothing grows but moss. At the farther end of this plain is another hill called the Sugar Loaf,—to outward appearance a rude heap of mossie stones piled one upon another,—and you may, as you ascend, step from one stone to another as if you were going up a pair of stairs, but winding still about the hill, till you come to the top, which will require half a day's time; and yet it is not above a mile, where there is also a level of about an acre of ground, with a pond of clear water in the midst of it, which you may hear run down; but how it ascends is a mystery. From this rocky hill you may see the whole country round about. It is far above the lower clouds, and from hence we behold a vapor (like a great pillar) drawn up by the sunbeams out of a great lake, or pond, into the air, where it was formed into a cloud. The country beyond these hills, northward, is daunting terrible, being full of rocky hills, as thick as mole-hills in a meadow, and clothed with infinite thick woods."

Coffin, *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ix., p. 210.

ness, and for years the smokes of the Sokoki hung along the Saco intervales, which begin at Fryeburg to reach as far up stream as the foot of Mount Willard. A portion of this branch of the Abenake had their habitat along the shore of the Ossipee. Another branch was on the Androscoggin; and still another had migrated to St. Francis de Sales, on the Chaudière. Those living along the upper waters of the Saco were the Pequawkets. The country abounded with large and small game; for here were the roaming-grounds of the lordly moose, the shy-eyed deer, and the bear. Beavers were abundant on all the streams. On every mud-bank was an otter-slide; and while the waters teemed with salmon, here were the animals that preyed upon them,— the martin, mink, and fisher. In the deeper shadows of the woods were the lynx and the wood-cat, the most wily and ferocious of all the wilderness denizens, fit concomitants of the like savage red man. The Pequawkets had a camping-place on the shores of a pond under the shadows of Pine Hill (Fryeburg). Paugus was the sachem of the tribe.

It was into this wild country, where Harding, the hunter of Wells, was wont to come with some of his Sokoki friends, that Lovewell was to make his final adventure. He left Dunstable, April 16, 1725, with forty-six men, for the Pequawket settlement. Of this little company of adventurous soldiers Lovewell was made the captain. Joseph

Farwell and Jonathan Robbins were lieutenants. John Harwood was ensign. They followed the course of the Merrimac. With them was Toby, a friendly Indian, who, falling ill, was obliged to return to Dunstable. At Contoocook, William Cummings, another Dunstable man who was incapacitated by a wound received in a former fight with the savages, was dismissed. They had left Winnipiseogee Lake behind, to keep on to Ossipee Lake. Here Benjamin Kidder was unable to go on, and the company halted while they constructed a small fort, where, when the march was again taken up, the company surgeon, a sergeant, and seven men were left to care for Kidder. This reduced the fighting-force to thirty-four men. At this fort they left a considerable portion of their stores, by which the men were put in lighter marching order. Here was to be their rendezvous, upon which they intended to fall back if they found it necessary.[1]

[1] "On the farm of Daniel Smith, Esq. of Ossipee, now 88 years of age, may be seen the remains of the Fort built by Lovewell and his company, in 1725. It is situated near the west shore of Ossipee Lake, in an extensive meadow containing about two hundred acres. North of the Fort is Lovewell's River which empties into the Lake. I visited the place in the summer of 1859, and was conducted to the spot where the Fort was built, by John Smith, Esq., with whom the venerable father resides. The outline can be very clearly traced. Probably, when built, it was palisaded, or a stockade

Leaving Ossipee, they pushed on into the bleaker wilderness of the mountains. Strung out in single file, they kept on through the woods, with every moment plunging still deeper into the silent mystery of the gaunt woods; for the trees had not yet begun to spring their leafy foliage. Here or there was an opening, and ever to the north were the snow-capped crests of the White Hills.

On the evening of May 7 they had crossed the Saco within the present limits of Fryeburg, to come to the northeastern edge of a considerable sheet of water. Here in the woods they made their camp for the night, which was broken by strange noises, like the scuffing of feet among the dead leaves, and

fort. Its eastern face fronted the Lake, and was situated on a ridge or bank, which extended from the river southward. At the north and south ends of the Fort considerable excavations of earth were made resembling cellars in size and appearance. The ditch in which the palisades were set, can be traced round the whole tract which the Fort contained. The excavation at the north end of the Fort, is much the largest. This almost reaches the river, whence probably they obtained their supply of water. The ground which, some forty years ago was overgrown with trees and bushes, is now cleared and cultivated. But the locality of the Fort can not be mistaken.

"Near the centre of the great meadow, and about 50 rods west of the Fort stands a mound of earth, forty-five or fifty feet in diameter, of a circular form and about ten feet high. From this mound the timber was removed many years since. The soil composing this mound is not that of the meadow, but exactly like that of the pitch pine plain which lies west and

the crackling of twigs; but the watch discovered nothing of hazardous import. When the morning broke they were alert. Before partaking of their scanty breakfast they listened devoutly and with bared heads to the prayer of faith. Simple words they must have been, coming from their young chaplain, but fraught with the promise of the God of battles to this handful of brave men.

It was a sublime moment as they stood within the slant shadows dropped by the morning sun, while, almost at their feet, the flush of dawn was on the stream that was to show a deeper stain before the day had sped. The chaplain's prayer was abruptly punctuated by the report of a musket up the pond. Making their way to the water's edge, they saw a lone Indian outlined in the morning

north of it. No extensive excavations have been made in the mound; yet there have been taken from it, only by digging from the top, three entire skeletons, one of which was full grown, and when found, was in a sitting posture, with a piece of birch bark over its head. Two tomahawks and many pieces of coarse earthen ware have been found on the surrounding meadow; and on the northern side of the river, when the land was first cleared, the hills where corn grew, were distinctly visible. From these facts the inference is irresistible that this was once the residence of a formidable tribe of the aborigines of the country. The Ossipee tribe, with some others mixed with them, was estimated to contain 1000 souls, about the time of the settlement of Dover, in 1623."

N. H. Hist. Coll., vol. ii.

sunshine above a rim of yellow sand that made out into the pond some little distance from their camping-place. As Lovewell scrutinized the savage he half suspected it to be a lure to induce a movement of his company in that direction.

It was a fateful emprise, and perhaps to Lovewell the motionless savage was a mute prophecy of disaster. Whatever was revealed to his inner vision he left unspoken; but, turning to his men, he gave them the choice of an advance, or a retreat to possible safety. They had put their hands to the plow with no thought of looking backward along the invisible furrow that ended in far-away Dunstable, and with a single voice they were for going on.[1] Close beside them ran a purling brook. Above their heads towered the ancient giant pines. Before and behind were the forest aisles, that ended

[1] "Yet they were not without some apprehensions of their being discovered two days before, and that the appearing of one Indian in so bold a manner, was on purpose to ensnare them. Wherefore, the Captain calling his men together, proposed whether it was best to engage them or not; who boldly replied, 'that as they came out on purpose to meet the enemy, they would rather trust providence with their lives and die for their country, than return without seeing them.' Upon this, they proceeded and mortally wounded the Indian, who notwithstanding returned the fire, and wounded Capt. Lovewell in the belly. Upon which Mr. Wyman fired and killed him."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 110.

to the north in a purple mystery,— a low scrub of hard pine along the edge of a sandy plain.

Leaving their packs stacked against the trees, the advance was taken up with a predatory stealthiness. As they went they scanned the woodland, fearing ambuscade. So carefully, so silently, were they making their way that the savage hunter, the same discovered by them on the rib of sand, up pond, who had been after ducks,[1] breaking through a near-by thicket, found himself at close quarters with Lovewell's party. Lovewell and Whiting were nearest the savage. The surprise was undoubtedly mutual; but the Indian was the

[1] "Having been on the spot where this celebrated action happened, and having conversed with persons who were acquainted with the Indians of Pequawket, before and after this battle, I am convinced that there is no foundation for the idea that he was placed there as a decoy; and that he had no claim to the character of a hero. The point on which he stood is a noted fishing place; the gun which alarmed Lovewell's company was fired at a flock of ducks; and when they met him he was returning home with his game and two fowling pieces. The village was situated at the edge of the meadow, on Saco River; which here forms a large bend. The remains of the stockades were found by the settlers, forty years afterwards. The pond is in the township of Fryeburg, (where, on the 19 May, 1825, was holden the first Centennial Celebration of 'Lovewell's Fight,' and an Address delivered by Charles S. Davies, Esquire. The Address, containing 64 pages 8vo., was published at Portland the same year.")

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 210, note.

soonest to recover his wits, and it was his musket that first challenged their security; for this startled savage was a wolf at bay. It was a savage greeting, that hurtle of beaver-shot, emptied point-blank into the van of the Dunstable men. Lovewell and Whiting were in the lead, and it was these two who offered the surest target.

Lovewell had got his death-wound, as it turned, though not apparent at the time. Whiting was seriously hurt, but both were able to join the others of the party in falling back upon their camping-place of the previous night. Hardly had the smoke drifted from the muzzle of the Indian's musket than a second shot rang out upon the morning air. Seth Wyman had delayed for an infinitesimal space, and fate had stepped in between; but the savage had paid the score with his death.[1]

They had hardly crossed the Saco when two bands of Pequawkets who were returning from an expedition down river came upon their trail. One of these parties was under Paugus. At the head of the other was Wahwa. There were forty-one of the savages, and they were on their way to the lower village of this tribe, which was hardly more than a mile and a half from where the English

[1] "This Indian has been celebrated as a hero, and ranked with the Roman Curtius, who devoted himself to death to save his country."

Hutchinson's *History*, vol. ii., p. 315.

had camped. Coming upon the trail of the English, they changed their purpose, and, taking the trail of the white men, which they were able to follow without difficulty, they planned an ambush by which they might trap them on their return. As they had no knowledge of the number of their enemy, they were exceedingly wary; and it was only after nightfall that they approached the camp of Lovewell, if by chance they might satisfy themselves as to whether they might venture an open attack. The night was dark, and, unable to satisfy themselves as to the character and size of Lovewell's force, they went into hiding, but not so far away but they might follow the movements of the English.

Lovewell's men had left their packs behind, and once they were out of sight the savages were counting the packs, and in that way discovered Lovewell's strength. The odds in their favor, they planned an ambush after removing and secreting the packs. The savage who had been after ducks, coming upon the English as he did, unwittingly was the cause of their doubling back on their trail, which precipitated the battle, and possibly saved the day for the survivors of Lovewell's party.

The English got back to the place where they had left their packs, but the packs had disappeared. No sooner had this fact become apparent to them than the air shrilled with a riot of war-whoops of the Pequawkets, who swarmed upon

them from behind the huge trees where the savages had been patiently awaiting the return for their baggage. With the Dunstable men it was now a fight to the death. The Indians emptied their guns as they broke from their coverts. As they bore down upon the English, it is evident they expected to stampede the latter; but the English took to the shelter of the trunks of the trees to fight their foe after the aboriginal fashion, but not before the fatal bullet had sped its way to Lovewell. Farwell and Robbins, his two lieutenants, were wounded in this first fire, along with eight more of the company; but the others fought on in their desperation — all but one, a fellow named Hassell, whose courage got down into his legs, which took him so rapidly away from the uproar that he was not long in making the little fort at Ossipee.[1]

So bravely were the savages met at the onset that they were repulsed with a heavy loss, and the English were able to fall back on the pond shore under the direction of Ensign Wyman, who was the only officer who had escaped the deadly fire of

[1] "An unhappy instance at this time fell out respecting one of our men, who when the fight began, was so dreadfully terrified, that he ran away into the fort, telling those who were there, that Capt. Lovewell was killed with most of his men; which put them into so great a consternation, that they all drew off, leaving a bag of bread and pork behind, in case any of their company might return and be in distress."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 111.

the savages.[1] With the water at their backs, the savages were unable to surround them, but were obliged to fight face to face.[2]

The fight began about mid-forenoon, and once the English had reached the pond it was a question of endurance. The fight was continued by the English, with telling effect. Every English bullet went home. While the disposition of the ground gave the savages somewhat the advantage, the English fought on from behind trees, windfalls, boulders, and screening thickets, with a growing spirit of desperation. Every savage who showed himself had cause to rue his temerity, so steadily did the English hold themselves. Not one of the latter but realized the absolute need of a steady

[1] "Both parties advanced with their guns presented, and when they came within 'a few yardes,' they fired on both sides. 'The Indians fell in considerable numbers, but the English, most, if not all of them, escaped the first shot.'"

Drake's *Appendix to Indian Wars*, p. 332.

[2] "Hoping to be sheltered by a point of rocks which ran into the pond, and a few large pines standing on a sandy beach, in this forlorn place they took their station. On their right was the mouth of a brook, at that time unfordable; on their left, was the rocky point; their front was partly covered by a deep bog, and partly uncovered; and the pond was in their rear. The enemy galled them in front and flank, and had them so completely in their power, that had they made a prudent use of their advantage, the whole company must either have been killed, or obliged to surrender at discretion."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, vol. ii., pp. 66, 67.

nerve; and while the savages were yelling like a pack of wild animals the English replied with cheers, nothing daunted by their losses. The steadiness of the English fire undoubtedly had its effect upon their savage assailants; for after a time the latter drew off somewhat among the bushes, where they held a powwow. They were so busy with their medicine-man and his incantations that Seth Wyman crept out somewhat from his covert and shot the conjurer, breaking up the powwow, after which he got safely back to his little company. Wyman was the life of the defence, and under his direction they maintained a sturdy fire for ten hours, during which Jonathan Frye, the chaplain,[1] was mortally wounded; Ensign Robbins as well, and one other. Frye was shot about the middle of the afternoon; and, not being able to fight further, he devoted his time to invoking the success of his fellows.[2]

[1] "He was the son of Capt. James Frye of Andover, where he was born. He graduated at Harvard college in 1723. The large elm near the house of Mr. John Peters in Andover, was set out by him."

Abbot, *History of Andover*, p. 135.

[2] "Just as I had finished this account, I saw the historical memoirs of the ingenious Mr. Symmes, wherein I find two things remarkable, which I had no account of before: one was of Lieut. Robbins, who being sensible of his dying state, desired one of the company to charge his gun and leave it with him, being persuaded that the Indians, by the morning, would come and scalp him, but was desirous of killing one

The savages demanded of the English that they should surrender;[1] the latter laughed at them, and the fight went on after a desultory fashion until about sundown, when, disheartened by the loss of their sachem, Paugus,[2] who was killed by either Lieutenant Wyman or John Chamberlain, the

more before he died. The other was of Solomon Kies, who being wounded in three places, lost so much blood as to disable him to stand any longer; but in the heat of the battle, calling to Mr. Wyman said, he was a dead man; however, said that if it was possible, he would endeavor to creep into some obscure hole, rather than be insulted by these bloody Indians: but by a strange providence, as he was creeping away, he saw a canoe in the pond, which he rolled himself into, and by a favorable wind (without any assistance of his own) was driven so many miles on, that he got safe unto the fort."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 113.

[1] "The Indians invited them to surrender, by holding up ropes to them, and endeavored to intimidate them by their hideous yells; till just before night, they quitted their advantageous ground, carrying off their killed and wounded, and leaving the dead bodies of Lovewell and his men unscalped."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, vol. ii., p. 67.

Symmes, *Original Account of Lovewell's "Great Fight,"* p. 27.

[2] "Many of Lovewell's men knew Paugus personally. A huge bear's skin formed a part of his dress. From Mr. Symme's account, it appears that John Chamberlain killed him. They had spoken together some time in the fight, and afterwards both happened to go to the pond to wash out their

savages drew off without stopping even to take the scalps of their victims. Carrying off their killed and wounded, when night set in, they had disappeared utterly, and only the ripple of the brook came to the ears of the exhausted English.

When Lieutenant Wyman called the roll among

guns, which were rendered useless by so frequent firing. Here the challenge was given by Paugus, 'It is you or I.' As soon as the guns were prepared, they fired, and Paugus fell."

Drake's *Appendix to Indian Wars*, p. 234.

Symmes, p. 29.

"The tradition is that Chamberlain and Paugus went down to the small brook, now called Fight Brook, to clean their guns, hot and foul with frequent firing; that they saw each other at the same instant, and that the Indian said to the white man, in his broken English, 'Me kill you quick!' at the same time hastily loading his piece; to which Chamberlain coolly replied, 'Maybe not.' His firelock had a large touch-hole, so that the powder could be shaken out into the pan, and the gun made to prime itself. Thus he was ready for action an instant sooner than his enemy, whom he shot dead just as Paugus pulled trigger, and sent a bullet whistling over his head. The story has no good foundation, while the popular ballad written at the time, and very faithful to the facts, says that, the other officers being killed, the English made Wyman their captain,—

> 'Who shot the old chief Paugus, which did the foe defeat,
> Then set his men in order and brought off the retreat.'"

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. i., p. 268, note.

Drake, *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 120.

Butler (*History of Groton*), in a note to page 108, has a graphic and romantic account of the fight at Lovewell's Pond.

the slow-falling shadows of that May night among the pines of Pequawket, out of the thirty-four men who that morning watched the lone Indian up stream, nine were without serious hurt; eleven were badly wounded; the others, not counting Hassell, had been killed outright or were dying. The ominous number of this last was thirteen. Worn and hungry, for their provender had gone with their packs, it was necessary that they should get back to the Ossipee fort, where they had left a portion of their supplies.

They waited until midnight, and when the moon had risen those who were able to travel made their preparations to return to Ossipee, twenty miles away. Three of the wounded were living, but in such condition as precluded any attempt to move them. One of these was Ensign Robbins, who only asked Wyman to load his musket that he might have one more shot at the savages, who would be after his scalp the next morning.

The last "Good-by!" whispered; the last message confided to the men who were going home; and of these men who had fought so well and bravely together it called for the greater courage to leave Robbins, Farwell, and Frye, all three of whom perished of wounds, exposure, and starvation somewhere in the Saco woods.[1] One sees the

[1]Robbins was left on the battle-field at the mouth of the brook. Frye and Farwell started with the survivors on the

little band, with Wyman at their head, threading the intricacies of the Saco wilderness in the dead of night by the half-light of the moon. Feeling their way with the instinct of backwoodsmen rather than by any familiarity with the region, after a weary journey back over the rough trail they came out upon the Ossipee water. They found the fort deserted; but the frightened garrison had left some bread and pork behind, by which they were enabled finally to reach Dunstable.

When Hassell got to Dunstable, and had related his story of the destruction of Lovewell's party, Colonel Tyng was ordered by the governor to recruit a party among the border towns and to make all speed into the Pequawket country; to find the battle-ground; to attend to the wounded, if any were alive, and to attack the savages — if he could locate them. Tyng called upon Hassell to guide his party; but the poltroon was suddenly taken ill, when one of the men who had come in, who had been in the fight, volunteered his services.

When they reached the little brook beside which Wyman and his fellows had fought their way to victory they came upon the bodies of Lovewell, Robbins, and the others. These they buried on the spot where they fell. Of the Indian dead they

return journey. These latter dropped by the way. They had not been able to keep up to any great distance. First, Frye was left; then Farwell.

found three buried in one shallow grave, one of whom was Paugus. On this expedition no Indians were met. The Pequawkets were beaten, and their war-spirit against the English had been cowed. Tyng had the names of the twelve English carved on the adjacent tree-trunks, after which the relief-party returned to the frontier.[1]

Messrs. Dudley, Thaxter, and Atkinson had returned from their diplomatic enterprise at Montreal, reaching Albany on May 1. There they met the Commissioners on Indian Affairs for the New

[1] "This was one of the most fierce and obstinate battles which had been fought with the Indians. They had not only the advantage of numbers, but of placing themselves in ambush, and waiting with deliberation the moment of attack. These circumstances gave them a degree of ardor and impetuosity. Lovewell and his men, though disappointed of meeting the enemy in their front, expected and determined to fight. The fall of their commander, and more than one quarter of their number, in the first onset, was greatly discouraging; but they knew that the situation to which they were reduced, and their distance from the frontiers, cut off all hope of safety from flight. In these circumstances, prudence as well as valor dictated a continuance of the engagement, and a refusal to surrender; until the enemy, awed by their brave resistance, and weakened by their own loss, yielded them the honor of the field. After this encounter, the Indians resided no more at Pequawket, till the peace."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 212.

"The names of this brave company deserve to be transmitted to posterity. They were Capt. John Lovewell, Lieut Joseph Farwell, Lieut. Jonathan Robbins, Ensign John Har-

York Province. To these they made a report of what M. de Vaudreuil had said concerning the Five Nations and Onondaga Fort. There happened at the time at Albany a deputation from the Five Nations, and their aid was asked toward obtaining a peace compact with the Abenake; but Lovewell's invasion of the Pequawket country had paved the way to what the Massachusetts Peace Commissioners had been unable to, in any degree, accomplish, which was to lay a foundation for an equitable negotiation.

The Abenake were inclined to enter into peace

wood, Sergeant Noah Johnson, Robert Usher and Samuel Whiting, all of Dunstable; Ensign Seth Wyman, Corporal Thomas Richardson, Timothy Richardson, Ichabod Johnson and Josiah Johnson of Woburn; Eleazar Davis, Josiah Davis, Josiah Jones, David Melvin, Eleazar Melvin, Jacob Farrar and Joseph Farrar of Concord; Chaplain Jonathan Frye of Andover; Sergeant Jacob Fulham of Weston; Corp. Edward Lingfield of Nutfield; Jonathan Kittredge and Solomon Keyes of Billerica; John Jefts, Daniel Woods, Thomas Woods, John Chamberlain, Elias Barron, Isaac Larkin, and Joseph Gilson of Groton; Ebenezar Ayer and Abiel Asten of Haverhill; and one whose name was considered unworthy of being transmitted to posterity. Noah Johnson was the last survivor of this company. He was a native of Woburn, Massachusetts, and one of the first settlers of Pembroke, the town granted to the survivors and the heirs of those who were killed, where he was deacon of the church. He removed to Plymouth in his old age, and there died 13 August, 1798, in the 100th year of his age."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 209, note.

arrangements with the English without any of Vaudreuil's interference; and upon overtures from the eastern tribes, Colonel Walton, of New Hampshire, and Colonel Stoddard and Mr. Wainwright, of Boston, were appointed commissioners to go to St. Georges, on Arrowsic Island, for a conference with the representatives of the eastern tribes. They arrived at St. Georges July 2, 1725. Six days after, the Indians came in under a flag of truce. There was some considerable fencing,[1] but the English were able to come to nothing determinate with them, except that two sachems went to Bos-

[1] "Capt. Bean, the interpreter, was sent to meet them. They brought a letter from Winnenimmit their chief Sagamore, which was wrote in French. The import of which was, to congratulate the gentlemen's arrival on a design of peace, which they earnestly desired to treat about, provided they might do it safely; being under some fear and jealousy. And indeed they had cause of being so, for that about ten days before under a flag of truce, some of the English treacherously attempted to lay violent hands upon them, but lost one in the skirmish, and had another wounded, which was the occasion of the like unhappy disaster that afterwards happened unto Capt. Saunders, in Penobscot Bay. They then moved, that inasmuch as many of their men were scattered, (being out a hunting) that our gentlemen would stay a little, which they consented to. And five days after, seven came in under a flag of truce, making the usual signal; and informing the commissioners that they would wait on them to-morrow; who after a friendly entertainment were dismissed. The next day, their whole body came within a quarter of a mile of the garrison, desiring the English to come to them; which they refused,

ton with the commissioners, where they were entertained in a friendly fashion; and after what Penhallow calls "a capitulation of matters," with a solemn promise that within "forty days after their arrival" they would bring more of their chiefs "for a final issue of all their differences," they were put on board a vessel set apart for the special occasion.

So far as this performance may be construed from the point of the savage, it meant absolutely nothing; for, soon after, some of the Indians who had been engaged in the former capture of the Hansons were at Dover, where they had come to

saying, that they were sent from the several governments to hear what they had to offer; but assured them that if they came to them, no injury should be offered. After a short consultation they complied, provided the English would engage it in the name of God. And then they sent in thirteen of their chiefs, expecting the like number of English to be sent them. So soon as they met, the commissioners demanded what they had to offer, who complimented them with the great satisfaction they had in seeing them in so peaceable a disposition, and that it was also the intent and desire of their hearts. It was then asked wherefore they made war upon the English? who replied, because of their encroachments upon their land so far westward as Cape Nawagen, where two of their men, as they said, were beaten to death. Upon which it was answered, that that very land was bought by the English, and that the deeds from their predecessors were ready to be shewn; and admitting it was true what they said, that the English did so inhumanly beat two of their men, yet it was not justifiable in them (according to the articles of peace) to commence a war at once, without first making application to

make a second capture of the Hanson family, which at this time had returned to the old home, after having been ransomed. Belknap says the savages had threatened that they would again come after them once they got back to Dover.

The savages, as they came near the Hanson home, saw some men at work in an adjacent field, in full sight of which they would have to pass in going and coming from the Hanson house. This was not to their liking, so the plan was varied. They

the government, who at all times were ready to do them justice.

"This conference being over, they proposed a further treaty, which after some debate, was resolved to be at Boston. They then moved for a cessation of arms, but our commissioners, having no power, replied, that if they went to Boston, it might possibly be granted. But in the mean time moved that each party should be on their guard, for that it was the custom of nations to carry on the war on both sides till matters were fully concluded. The Indians replied that as they desired peace, they were resolved in calling in their young men, promising for themselves and those also of their tribe, that no hostility should be formed against us."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, pp. 116, 117.

Vaudreuil had been the Governor of Canada, through the war with the French and Indians, called Queen Anne's War, and through Lovewell's War. He died on the twenty-fifth of October, 1725. He was distinguished for bravery, firmness, and vigilance, and gave the English incredible trouble by the long war he maintained against them, by exciting the savages to perpetual inroads on their frontier.

Lord, *Lemprière*, vol. ii., p. 749.

hid themselves in a barn until they were ready to make the attack. While they were thus waiting, two women passed by the place, and had just reached the garrison as the savages emptied their guns upon three men going along the road. One, Benjamin Evans, was instantly killed. William Evans was wounded, and they finished him by cutting his throat. John Evans got a slight wound in the breast. He bled much; and the savages, thinking him dead, tore his scalp from his head and left him, after they had turned him over and given him several blows with the butts of their guns. As soon as they had gone he got to his feet and made his way toward the garrison, to finally drop to the ground in his exhaustion. He was picked up and carried into the fort in a blanket. Belknap says the man recovered and lived fifty years.

This party of savages, though afterward pursued, got off undiscovered, taking along with them Benjamin Evans, Jr., the son of the man they had a few moments before shot. The lad was thirteen years old. He was taken to Canada, and, as Mr. Belknap says, was "redeemed as usual by a charitable collection." This writer notes that this was the last foray in New Hampshire; for, three months later, "the treaty they desired was held in Boston," to be ratified the following spring at Falmouth (1726).[1]

[1] "The commissioners sent from New Hampshire, and who

This treaty carried the usual restrictions against private traffic with the Indians and the establishment of truck-houses at convenient places along the frontier, where such ordinary necessaries as they found for their convenience could be obtained. In these days the province had a trained militia. Every man was accustomed to the handling of arms; and, under forty years of age, every man was liable to military service. They had become inured to hardship, and they were for the most part a strenuously brave people. When the peace came the savages came with it, and oftentimes visited the very families whose homes they had despoiled.

While to some the treaty was satisfactory, to others it had seemed as if the government had accomplished something at the loss of its dignity; that the savages were no less treacherous than before, and no faith was to be put in any of their promises. It fell out that after the attack on the Evans family, September 15, 1725, they made an attack on the garrison at North Yarmouth, but were repulsed and driven off, the extent of their depredations be-

were present at the formation of this treaty, were from the council, John Frost and Shadrach Walton, and from the house, John Gilman and Theodore Atkinson. Those appointed to attend the ratification of it, were George Jaffrey, Shadrach Walton and Richard Wibird of the council, and Peter Weare, Theodore Atkinson and John Gilman of the house."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 217, note.

ing the killing of some of the herds in the neighborhood.

A few days later they were at Mousam River, and then at Damaris Cove, to the eastward of the Kennebec, where they burned two shallops of Stephen Hunuel's and Alexander Soaper's, "who, with five men and a boy, they carried to Winniganse, and knocked him on the head."[1] It was supposed by some that the party was from Canada; but from the fact that one of them was seen wearing an English jacket they were supposed to have come from the eastward. The latter denied the assault, and laid it at the door of the "Canada converts."

As a check to the hostile inclinations of the savages, the province had sent several companies into the vicinity of Ammeriscoggin, Rockamagug, and about Norridgewock, but they came upon none of the savages. By some this was regarded an invasion of the conditions of the treaty; but others claimed that as no trespass had been made across the Penobscot line the latter tribes could make no contentions. Others insisted that the frontiers were in as much danger as ever; and as the tribes on the Penobscot River could not guarantee absolute tranquillity along the frontier, the English should neglect no reasonable measures for adequate protection. So the dispute waxed or waned, ac-

[1] Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 118.

cording to circumstance, until Captain Dwight, of Fort Dummer,[1] September 28, 1725, sent out a party of six men to the westward, who, returning, had stopped for a bit of refreshment, and, hearing a noise as of some one running, discovered fourteen savages making a rush upon them. They stood their ground to give the savages a volley, but five English were overpowered. Two were shot, three were captured, and one escaped.[2]

But the "forty days" were up, and it was not until November that Sauguaaram, *alias* Sorun,

[1] First mention of Fort Dummer.
Vide Sheldon's *Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 405.
Vote of General Court, December 27, 1723, to build.
Ibid, p. 405.
Description of Fort Dummer, built 1723-24.
New Hampshire MS. Archives.
Stoddard's *Letter*, *vide ibid.*
Sheldon's *Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 453; also p. 514.
The conference at Fort Dummer, 1737.
Sheldon's *Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 525.

[2] "August 25, 1725, deacon Field, deacon Childs, and others, were going up to Green river farms, and were ambushed by the Indians, but they discovered the Indians, and John Wells discharged his gun at an Indian, who fell; the Indians fired at them, and wounded deacon Samuel Field, the ball passing through the right hypocondria, cutting off three plaits of the mysenteria, which hung out of the wound, in length almost two inches, which was cut off even with the body, the bullet passing between the lowest and the next rib, cutting, at its going forth, the lowest rib; his hand being close

Arexus, François Xavier, and Meganumba came to Boston, where a "submission and agreement of the delegates of the Eastern Indians," was made and entered into December 15, 1725. The treaty included the Cape Sables, St. John's, Penobscots, and Norridgewocks, of which latter tribe but a remnant was left.[1]

It was agreed that sometime in May of the following year (1726) this Submission and Agreement should be solemnly ratified by the chiefs of the eastern tribes, at another conference to be held at Falmouth, on Casco Bay. Governor Dummer, desiring that no laches should be attributed to him in the matter, with a quorum of the council and several members of the Great and General Court, with a respectable retinue, comprising a sufficient guard and some other gentlemen of Boston, left that city July 14, to arrive at Falmouth two days later.

On the twenty-first day of July the governor re-

to the body when the ball came forth, it entered at the root of the heel of the thumb, cutting the bone of the forefinger, and, resting between the fore and second finger, was cut out, and all the wounds were cured in less than five weeks, by doctor Thomas Hastings."

Williams's *Narrative*, p. 112.

Sheldon's *Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 450.

For a description of the fruitless expedition of Captain Benjamin Wright against Masserquick, Gray Lock's fort, begun July 27, 1725, *vide* Sheldon's *Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 444.

[1]Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 123.

ceived a letter from Wenamouit, the chief sachem of the Penobscots, which bore the date of St. Georges, July 19, requesting him to meet the Indians in conference at Pemaquid. Governor Dummer refused, demanding that the sachem come to Falmouth. On July 29 Wenamouit came to Falmouth, with his leading warriors to the number of forty, and on July 30, the following day, the hearing on the treaty of December, 1725, was opened, to be confirmed and concluded August 6, 1726. Wenamouit claimed full powers to appear in behalf of the Wawenocks, Areguntenocks, the St. François, and the Canada tribes, who had not only sent a letter, but two wampum-belts, which were with great ceremony presented to the governor.[1]

August 5, 1726, was the day on which the treaty was ratified by William Dummer and Wenamouit, chief sachem and sagamore of the Penobscots.

[1] "The governments had many and large conferences with the Indians; worthy to be communicated to the publick, and which would be an entertainment to the curious. In these conferences the discretion and prudence of the salvages was observable as well as the wisdom, justice, equity and tenderness of the governors on our part.

"One of the first things that the Indians desired of our government was, that they would give order that the vessels in the harbor as well as the taverns ashore might be restrained from selling any liquors to their young men. The governor told them, that he very much approved of that, and would give order accordingly."

Penhallow, *Indian Wars*, p. 125.

Wenamouit was asked what measures he would take as to the protection of the frontiers whereby the settlers might regard themselves secure from the Norridgewocks, who took no part in the ratification; to which he replied that the "inhabitants of the frontiers should be very careful," and that he would send runners to all the tribes to inform them that "there is a peace made."

The last reading and interpretation of the conference to the Penobscot sachem, and the savages with him, was had on August 11. They were asked if they understood; if there were "no words missing." Upon their approval, Dummer added his signature as the final act. He then gave it to Wenamouit, who, with his chief sachems, added their totems to it, after which it was returned to the governor. So the Peace of Casco, 1726, was concluded. Godfrey notes that this compact was "quite well observed" by the Indians until the later hostilities of 1744.[1]

Notwithstanding this treaty, the Indians still cherished a lively hatred of the English on account of the killing of Ralé, which was persistently fanned by the emissaries of Vaudreuil, and the virulent Lauverjait, so that in the following October an attack was made on the Durrells at Arundel. Colonel John Wheelright wrote (October 27, 1726) of this incident: "Phillip Durrell of Kennebunk, went

[1] Godfrey, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. vii., p. 88.

from his house with one of his sons to work, the sun being about two hours high, leaving at home his wife, a son twelve years old, and a married daughter with a child 20 months old. He returned home a little before sunset, when he found his family all gone, and his house set on fire, his chests split open and all his clothing carried away. He searched the woods and found no signs of any killed." From the Durrell house, they carried away, among other things, a Bible, which was found later in the woods, where the savages had camped over night. The captives were taken on the way to Canada; but at a conference with the savages the following year at Falmouth, they said that three were killed, only the boy being taken the entire journey. He was sold to the French, and they were unable to secure his return. After two years, however, the boy regained his liberty; and it was noted that so thoroughly had he imbibed the spirit of the nomad life that "his appearance and habits afterward were those of the red man."[1] Bourne notes that the capture of the Durrells was the last act of what was termed Lovewell's War immediately affecting the settlers dwelling on the Wells frontier.

These peaceful conditions were by no means to be credited to any lack of a pernicious activity of

[1] Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 234.
Bradbury, *History of Kennebunk.*

the French Jesuits among the Abenake; for both the treaty of 1726 and that other of 1727 with the Penobscots were most annoying to Vaudreuil; nor did Lauverjait cease his exertions until he had procured a "Declaration from the Chiefs" that the agreement with the English was only a "Treaty of Peace, Amnesty and Accommodation." This was certified to by himself and St. Castin. Lauverjait wrote Vaudreuil from Panawamske,[1] August 17, 1727, in which he asserted that the chiefs of the village begged him not to question their fidelity, and they wished him to take assurance that all the gifts of the English and writings could not separate them from their French brothers; nor should they forget their religion. Further, they had made a peace with the English by reason of necessity, that would not stand in the way of their joining the French as soon as they were ready to declare another war against the English. Lauverjait's letter was strengthened by a memorandum confirming his statements, which bore the totems of all the Penobscot sachems.[2]

Lauverjait, in July, 1728, wrote to the Père La Chasse, in which one gets the impression that St. Castin was thoroughly sincere in his friendship for the English, and was honestly inclined to keep the faith with them. It is evident, too, that the Pana-

[1] Probably located at the head of the tide (Bangor).

[2] Godfrey, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. vii., p. 88.

wamske priest found him only too often in the way of his schemes to further embroil the Abenake; and it is evident that Lauverjait's dislike for Anselm St. Castin was extended to the brother, Joseph Dabadis. It is from this priest, too, one gathers the stories of the debaucheries of the St. Castins. There was, however, one virtue to Lauverjait's communications to the Montreal government,—they were productive of little or no effect. Their malice was too evident. Fortunately, the counsels of the priest did not prevail; and, with the compact at Falmouth, the Indians resumed their old familiarity with the settler, while the latter was continually pushing on into the Abenake wilderness; so that St. Castin wrote, some three or four years later, to the Marquis de Beauharnois, that the English were "forming considerable establishments in the neighborhood of Indian territory, and probably would render themselves masters of it, by force."

It would seem, however, that in 1736[1] the French made a census of the Penobscot warriors, whom they supplied with belts and hatchets. There were two hundred of them, who, after Governor Shirley's War was decided upon, joined the French. After 1731 the two St. Castins seem to have passed from contemporary notice.

Now that the peace was on, the savages began, with the opening summer days, to frequent their

[1] *New York Col. Docs.*, vol. ix., pp. 991-1052.

old fishing and camping places, pitching their wigwams by the roadsides, the creeks, and the shore of the sea, as they fancied, but always in proximity to the English. In Wells, along the Scarborough marshes, among the openings on the north side of Back Cove (Casco), their wigwams formed little groups of nomad life. The English held this treacherous contingent in sufferance, but would sell the savages all the liquor they could pay for in pelts or money; for bartering, in those days of wilderness settlements, was a profitable occupation.

In Wells alone, Bourne mentions three or four Indian villages, one of which consisted of twenty wigwams. Among these Indian denizens of Wells was Tom Wawah, the lieutenant of Paugus in the Lovewell Fight.[1] It was this intimate acquaintance with the inner and domestic life of the settler, his habits and disposition, the manner and times of his movements about his cabin, its appointments of strength or weakness, that made the savage so dangerous; but Bourne notes that when they were about to break out into hostilities they invariably gave notice — if not verbally, certainly by their behaviour. The case of Manhan, who refused the breakfast offered him by his white neighbor, over on the Nonsuch River, is in point. When their raids were over, and they had made a peace with

[1] Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 326.

their neighbors, they made a conical heap of stones outside their wigwam, some two to three feet high. So long as this heap of cobbles remained intact the white man might come and go in perfect safety; but when the war-path stretched out before them the stone-heap was strewn over the ground. This stone-heap was the barometer of their peaceable or hostile intentions. Their forays were of a sporadic character, occurring in groups, and lasting but a short time, while their enmities were counted by years.

But the wigwams went up in a night beside the white man's cabin, and the piles of stones multiplied. Ambereuse had his wigwam on the Mousam River. He was a man of peace; and though his people were at war, and the heap of stones at his wigwam-door was toppled over, he came and went among the settlers through all the hostilities.[1] Sullivan mentions him as living at South Berwick after 1762. He was a basket and broom maker.

That the aborigines were primarily for peace is not to be doubted, recalling Samoset, Massasoit, Canonicus, and Passaconaway. It is quite as true that the resentments of these rude peoples were quick and abiding; that they were peculiarly susceptible to untoward and evil influences, which establishes their thoroughly human side. They

[1] Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 328.

were humans, in their way intelligent and considerate according to exigency, in the which they differed not so much from the humans of to-day. They were of a stock superior to that from which the civilization of modern Europe was finally evolved; and, had the aborigine been given the consideration to which in human equity and the commonest ethics of righteousness he was entitled, the devastations, savage atrocities, and the blotting out of a human race recorded by the contemporaries of Mather might never have become history.

Primal selfishness, sordid ambition, duplicity, religious bigotry, an iconoclastic spiritual cult, the backbone of which was the so-called Covenant of Works which became the rugged trellis upon which the flower of Freedom was to bloom, made up the leaven of these barbaric conflicts. If Jesuitism offered an inhospitable creed to the stranger without the gate, that of the Pilgrim and Puritan, to whom the aborigine was an Amalekite and lawful spoil, was equally unelastic. It was the curse of Cain — the same that has followed humanity since the slaying of Abel. Jesuit and Puritan, they were the upper and nether stones between which the aborigine was to be ground into impalpability, whose dismal story has become a part of the history of the human race.

As the cleared lands of the settlers widened, the Indians retired inland, until finally they had al-

most utterly disappeared from the haunts of men, and their savage atrocities had faded into dim traditions — fireside tales that are now forgotten, and are to be found only in the pages of the annalists of those troublous days in which were cradled some of the choicest spirits of New England history.

GOVERNOR SHIRLEY'S WAR

GOVERNOR SHIRLEY'S WAR

AFTER twenty years of peace the New England frontier was again to be scourged by the savages. March 15, 1744, France had declared war against England; in which practically the whole of Europe became engaged. This conflict, which originated in the quarrel over the Austrian succession, continued until the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, October 18, 1748. The larger theater of action was outside the New England frontier. It swayed back and forth from Louisburg, Cape Breton, to Saratoga, overlapping, at intervals, the frontier of the New England Colonies from the Sagadahoc to the Connecticut; yet it was not until July of 1745 that the Indians became actively aggressive, when, in August following, the province of Massachusetts was obliged to declare war against the Indians.

Before entering upon the story of the savage atrocities which were thereby inaugurated, a glimpse at conditions precedent is necessary. By the Treaty of Utrecht, Isle Royale or Cape Breton Island was the only remnant of Acadia left to France. As a strategic position, controlling, as it did, the mouth of the St. Lawrence, to France it became of the first importance; and, once the strong fortifications along the lines of construc-

tion suggested by M. Vauban, originally, were complete, the French inhabitants of the adjoining coast of Acadia and Newfoundland were invited to put themselves under its protection. It will be recalled that both Acadia and Newfoundland, by the above mentioned treaty, had been ceded to Britain. The chief settlement of Newfoundland was Placentia, which, in response to the French solicitation, was abandoned and its former pioneers transferred to Isle Royale. The French, however, were not so successful with the Acadians, as the English interposed obstacles in the way of their removal which in a great degree were preventive of their following their neighbors across the water in Newfoundland.

The Acadians, therefore, remained in their old habitats, to become not only a covert threat to the occupancy of the English, but, as well, a source of clerical anxiety. Under the Submission which the English exacted of these residents, they were allowed the right of religious freedom so long as their observances of the same did not conflict with the prescribed forms of the English service; nevertheless, the French Jesuits found a way to establish themselves among these people, where they maintained the observance of the Catholic ritual, by which they were able to maintain the former attachment of the Acadians to the French interest. Outwardly English subjects, as a matter of fact their interests were those of New France.

At the beginning of the English régime in Acadia Colonel Vetch reported to the Board of Trade that the French inhabitants of Acadia numbered about twenty-five hundred. The English objected to the removal of these people to Cape Breton, for the reason that once they had taken their departure Cape Breton would become a populous colony at the expense of Acadia, which would practically become a country without any inhabitants. Not only would this be the natural result, but the object of the conquest of Acadia would become weakened, while the French would be strengthened in a corresponding degree and the new settlement of Louisburg would become a constant menace to their peaceful possession of this territory; also, it would most seriously affect the trade of Great Britain.[1]

This presentation of the matter by Colonel Vetch was accepted as a rule of action by the successive English Governors of Acadia, who were not only persistent in their refusal to the Acadians of their requests to be allowed to remove to Cape Breton, but, as well, emphasized the necessity that every influence should be brought to bear upon the latter to obtain their unqualified allegiance to the British Crown. This at one time was thought impossible; but in 1729, Phillips, who was then Gov-

[1] Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of North America*, "The Struggle in Acadia and Cape Breton."

ernor at Annapolis, obtained an unconditional submission from the French inhabitants on that river. All submissions after this were conditional, in that the Acadians were exempted from any liability of service in the army. This concession, however, was not regarded as official, but rather as the unauthorized release from service on the part of one or two subordinates, and was at once repudiated by those higher up in authority. It was for this reason that the Acadians became known as the French Neutrals; but some writers have asserted that as an historical fact the statement is not entitled to recognition.

As a matter of history, Acadia, from the time of its surrender by the French to the English, made little progress, and was hardly considered by the English Ministry in their discussions of matters appertaining to the English colonies in America. In 1744, although a half-dozen governors had undertaken the direction of its affairs, and had made its dilapidated fort their official headquarters, there was no time after the Treaty of Utrecht when the Acadians, with a small display of enterprise and courage, could not easily have overpowered the garrison and reclaimed the whole of Acadia to New France.

At this time William Shirley was Governor of the province of Massachusetts;[1] Benning Went-

[1]John Adams, with something of the warring politician's

worth was at the head of colonial affairs in New Hampshire; and it was upon the energies of these two men, in a large degree, that the successful direction of affairs in the eastern portion of the United Colonies depended. Shirley, particularly, was impressed with the fact that a war with France was imminent; and a preparation had been made, in so far as was possible, for another war with the eastern Indians.

At Philadelphia, July, 1742, a treaty had been entered into with the Six Nations; and in August, Shirley had personally treated with the eastern Indians at the fort at St. Georges. The following year, 1743, the western settlements of Massachusetts were fortified by the occupation of Poontoosuck (Pittsfield) by Williams, who was later instructed to construct Fort Shirley (at Heath), Fort Pelham (at Rowe), and Fort Massachusetts, which was located in Adams, near the Williamstown line. The United Colonies of New England at this time had a population of something like four hundred thousand, of whom two hundred thousand were in Massachusetts, one hundred

onset, says of Shirley that he was a "crafty, busy, ambitious, intriguing, enterprising man; and having mounted to the chair of this province, he saw in a young, growing country vast prospects of ambition opening before his eyes, and conceived great designs of aggrandizing himself, his family, and his friends."

Novanglus, in *Works*, vol. iv., pp. 18, 19.

thousand were in Connecticut, and one hundred thousand in Rhode Island. The major portion of this population was beyond the reach of the depredations of the savages, which these frontier fortifications were expected to ward off.

In the conflicts with the Indians which occurred during and following Queen Anne's War the New Hampshire and Maine frontiers had been the greatest sufferers. They were more widely scattered as to their settlements, and, as well, more readily approached by the Indians who had their settlements about the headwaters of the Saco and the Androscoggin Rivers. The numbers of these savages were augmented from time to time by additions from the Jesuit converts of Canada, and, as well, from the more eastern Indians known as the Penobscots, the St. Johns, and the St. Francis.[1]

After the Peace of Utrecht, as has been noted, the English found their way back to their old open-

[1]The route of the Penobscots was by the Marsh River, which joins the Penobscot at Frankfort, Twenty-five Mile Pond and Stream in Unity, and the Sebasticook River, when they came westward to join the Norridgewocks and Androscoggins against the English. They had another route by way of Owl's Head, St. Georges River, and the Sheepscot and Eastern Rivers. This is the route indicated by Mr. McKeen as taken by Du Monts (1604), who regarded this as an interior river.

For the routes taken by the French and Indians to reach the English settlements in the Connecticut Valley, *vide* Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 532.

ings in the Maine wilderness; and, in 1735, new settlements had been located, so that upon the breaking out of Indian hostilities in 1744 there were several new towns east of the Piscataqua River. St. George was a considerable settlement, having a contingent of Scotch-Irish, who came hither in 1735, at the invitation of Waldo. Fort George, at Brunswick, had been repaired upon the closing of the last war, but was now in a somewhat dilapidated condition, for Brunswick had been the first place to be resettled after 1729. There was a fort at Small Point Harbor; also at Atkins Bay, at the mouth of the Kennebec. There was another fort at Augusta, where was an earlier settlement known as "Cushanna, Old Settlement and Clear Land." It is recorded that there was a chapel at this place in the earliest days of its occupancy, probably that of Dreuillettes.[1] At Pemaquid there were a fort and settlement; also at Richmond. Altogether, there were four or five public garrisons, some twenty-five blockhouses being scattered, in 1745, through some fifteen or twenty towns; for hardly any disquietude was felt on the part of the settlers, and these lands were so attractive that they were continually coming in from the westward.

At this time there were located at these various forts and blockhouses forces totally inadequate,

[1] North's *History of Augusta*, p. 36.

had the Indians been more courageous, to withstand a savage assault. At Fort St. George the garrison was comprised of fifteen men; at Pemaquid there were six; at Fort Richmond there were fourteen; and at Brunswick there were four; and this may be taken as the ratio of weakness of these several places upon which the savages were likely to vent their enmity upon the first occasion.[1]

This was not an encouraging state of affairs, for the ravages of the Indians were likely to be confined to the isolated garrisons and settlements of the Maine border. The Indians, by reason of their decimated numbers and the lack of French leadership, so openly apparent in the earlier wars, were thus kept from assaulting the larger settlements. For that reason the settlers were instructed to refrain from any acts towards the savages that would arouse their animosity; and the Provincial Government, through its commandants at the various garrisons and its truck-masters, was making the utmost efforts at conciliation. The settlers were prohibited from engaging in any traffic with the savages, to whom no excuse for hostilities was to be given.

An active population of many thousands had spread over the province from Pemaquid, on the extreme east, to southern New Hampshire, on the west; and across the Connecticut Valley to North

[1] Wheeler, *History of Brunswick*, p. 57.

Adams, on the western Massachusetts frontier. Times had grown softer with twenty years of peace; the border spirit in many of the settlements had mellowed, and with another Indian war in prospect the anxieties of the settlers were to be newly aroused to a state of terror. The Indians were yet under the control of the French Jesuits, and no treaty could hold the savage, instigated by the French, from the usual indulgence in all the atrocities common to a savage passion for blood and rapine. The Indians were already in league, at Canso, with the assailants of the English. The exertion of the province to keep the savages quiet was unavailing. Governor Shirley had written William Pepperrell to charge upon the people to avoid arousing the Indians. He also wrote Major Storer, at Wells, to strenuously impress this same caution upon the settlers, and to see that they were provided with arms and ammunition, concluding: "If an enemy should come upon any place, and the people should be destroyed for want of arms and ammunition, I think their blood would be upon the officers' hands." Volunteers were called upon to watch the movements of the Indians and to put the settlers in better courage. Rewards were also offered for Indian scalps of man, woman, or child.

The Massachusetts province was anticipating war, but her pecuniary situation was discouraging. Shirley had asked the General Court to provide for the same; but before any active response to

the suggestion of the governor had been made the news of the capture of Canso had come. New France had been at once apprised of the ruptured relations between France and England, and the Governor of Cape Breton had despatched a force of nine hundred men on this hostile errand. Canso was weakly garrisoned, there being but eighty English soldiers stationed there at that time. The Canso fort was razed and burned. The prisoners were carried to Louisburg.[1]

Having so easily reduced Canso, they invested Annapolis. The news of the attack on Canso reached Massachusetts promptly,[2] and there was no further delay in following Shirley's advice as to the immediate adoption of vigorous measures. A

[1] *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., p. 6, *et seq.*

[2] A Boston fisherman, who had seen the burning fort at Canseau, gave the colonies notice of the outbreak of the war. Shirley at once sent a message to Governor Mascarene at Annapolis to hold out till he could be reënforced. The messenger being captured, the French vessel had time to escape before Capt. Edward Tyng, who left Boston July 2, with a force, could arrive. He reached Annapolis July 4, to find Le Loutre and his Indians besieging the town. The enemy withdrew; Tyng threw men into the fort, and by the 13th was back in Boston. Capt. John Rouse, the Boston privateersman, had also been sent off during the summer, and had made havoc among the French fishing-stations on the Newfoundland shore.

Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, "New England, 1689–1763," vol. v., pp. 145, 146, note.

Joint Committee of War was constituted, at the head of which was William Pepperrell, of Kittery. Men were immediately pressed into service, and a force of two hundred soldiers was at once sent to the aid of Annapolis.[1] Not only were the French to be met with lively opposition, but adequate preparations were to be made effectual against a renewal of the ravages by the Indians, which were sure to follow in the train of a French and English war. Powder was distributed to the various towns, and the building of new forts was planned along the frontier between the Connecticut and Hudson Rivers,[2] and, as well, to the eastward.[3]

[1] Palfrey, vol. v., p. 58.

[2] Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 533.

[3] "Fryday, Nov. 11th, 1743.

"In the House of Representatives whereas it appears necessary from the apprehensions this House have of a speedy Rupture between the Crowns of Great Britain and France, that the Inland Frontiers in this Province be put into a better posture of Defence, Therefore, Voted that the following sums be and are hereby granted to be paid out of the publick Treasury to be laid out in some of the Settlements in the County of York.

"Viz. To Berwick one hundred pounds; to New Marblehead one hundred pounds; to Scarborough one hundred pounds; to Gorhamtown one hundred pounds; to Sheepscot one hundred pounds. . . . All of which sums shall be taken out of the Seven Thousand Pounds Appropriation provided in the Supply Bill now before this Court, and shall be paid into the hands of Messieures Moses Butler, Tobias Leighton,

The fort in Boston Harbor was strengthened by an additional armament.[1] New England was in a ferment of anxiety, and through the remainder of 1744 the General Court may be said to have been in session the greater part of the time. The thing most dreaded by the frontier settlers was the ad-

Samuel Moody, James Skinner and Jacob Perkins, with such as the Honorable Board shall joyn as a committee fully authorized and empowered to receive the same, and (first taking the direction of the Captain General) to lay out in the most prudent manner, in erecting in each of the before mentioned Settlements, for their security during the War, a Garrison or Garrisons of stockades or square timber round some Dwelling-house or houses, or otherwise, as will be most for the security and defence of the whole Inhabitants of each place."

McLellan, *History of Gorham*, pp. 43, 44.

[1] In the years immediately succeeding, the town was seldom free from fear of sudden irruptions by hostile fleets. They had learned the insecurity of treaties, and they had experienced that wars, in remote corners of the English dependencies, broke out without due proclamation. There is on file in the office of the city clerk a petition to the selectmen of the town, signed by some of the prominent merchants and other citizens of Boston, dated February 19, 1733, and asking that a town-meeting be warned to consider if steps should not be taken to fortify the town and its approaches. The signatures are of interest as showing the names of leading citizens. The commanders of the Boston regiment at this time were: Edward Winslow, colonel; Jacob Wendell, lieutenant-colonel; and Samuel Sewall, major. In 1735 a movement was made to strengthen the works; and a committee on the matter, con-

vent of the savages. The English had pushed their settlements as far east as Waldoborough, in the neighborhood of Penobscot Bay, where there was a small settlement of German emigrants. Up and down the Kennebec River were one hundred fifty families, who were mostly located at the flourish-

sisting of Spencer Phips, John Quincy, and Benjamin Bird, reported that the masonry of the main work was in poor condition, owing to bad mortar. A new battery was at this time built at the end of the island, to be connected with the older work by a platform and palisades. (Shurtleff, *Description of Boston*, p. 495.) A few years later (1739-40) the ruinous condition of the north and south batteries instigated Edward Winslow, Daniel Henchman, and other citizens to take steps to secure the remounting of the guns. The subject of the defences nearly every year engaged the attention of the town. Late in December, 1744, a vessel arrived in Boston, bringing from the home government twenty forty-two pounders and two mortars for Castle William. During these years a well-known officer at the castle was John Larrabee. He succeeded John Gray as lieutenant of the Castle, September 11, 1723,— a position which gave him the immediate command, the captaincy falling, by virtue of his commission, to the lieutenant-governor for the time being. In 1732 he is styled lieutenant and victualler. The *Evening Post* of February 15, 1762, says: "Last night died here, in an advanced age, John Larrabee, Esq., for many years past Captain at Castle William, where he mostly resided." (*New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, January, 1862, p. 60; also April, 1865, p. 124, where the account of him from the *News-Letter* is copied.) The Castle gunner during this period was John Brock.

Memorial History of Boston, vol. ii., pp. 110-112.

ing settlement of Georgetown. Another was at Pemaquid. The settlers had reclaimed North Yarmouth and Brunswick.[1] Narragansett No. 7 had been opened up by the settlement of Gorhamtown and New Marblehead (Windham). There were a few settlers near the mouth of the Presumpscot River. Falmouth had become a flourishing and prosperous community. A small settlement had found its way to Stroudwater, where Frost had a garrison. Black Point, Saco, and westward to the Piscataqua, were thrifty villages where fisheries and trade were attracting settlers. New Hampshire's frontier had not widened to any appreciable extent. Along the Connecticut River the settlers had made some advance up the valley from Northfield. Vermont was still the roaming-ground of the savage, as were the upper New Hampshire lands and that part of the Maine wilderness inland from the great Lake of the Sokoki (Sebago) eastward, across the Androscoggin, to the Kennebec at Cushnoc, where there were a trading-post and a few cabins protected by a fort with a small garrison.

In this war the settlers whose cabins were isolated were not only hopelessly exposed along a wilderness frontier, but most likely to feel the red hand

[1] It was about this time (1744) the population of Brunswick had increased so that a schoolmaster was thought necessary. Wheeler, *History of Brunswick*, p. 112.

of the savage earliest.[1] Where there were forts or garrison houses they were at once put in condition for defence, and were stocked with supplies. In this war, as in those which had preceded, some were prompt in availing themselves of the safety of the forts, while others were slower to take the alarm, some of whom paid for their procrastination with the entire destruction of their families. As a matter of fact, the later generation of settlers had grown timid with the years of peace; but the savages, always ready for war, once New France had begun hostilities, their depredations were a natural sequence.

Through 1744 the activities of the hostiles were

[1]These cabins were log structures, but not calculated by their construction to withstand savage attack. They were of one story, with a low, sloping roof. A roughly heaped stone fireplace and an opening in the roof to let out the smoke anticipated the catted chimney. They had but one room, the floor of which was the bare ground. Their windows were small square openings, and unglazed, to close which a small block of wood was used. The earliest settlers were content to adopt the simple architecture of the Abenake hut, with the only difference that the former was altogether built of logs, while the latter was not infrequently walled and roofed with bark or skins.

The winter domicile of the Abenake was a fairly substantial house, a long, low affair, under the roof of which several families found shelter from the inclemency of the season, each having its own fire, by which the interior was made fairly comfortable.

along the coast-line of Acadia, the debatable ground of the French and English for more than a century. As has been already outlined, conditions favored the regaining of Acadia by France. The Acadians were more French than English, not only by kinship, but by a religious and patriotic sympathy. They were the objects not only of Jesuit paternalism, but of a solicitous friendliness on the part of the successive Governors of New France. Whatever allegiance the Acadians gave the English was the result of a personal interest, not wholly unmixed with a fear of the resident governor and his council. The Acadian aborigine alone preserved his independence of the English, and, as well, maintained his attachment to the Jesuit priest; for the French were more his substantial friends than were the English.

The fall of Canso was the opening wedge in the gap that finally separated hostiles rather than friends. An island off the northeastern shore of Nova Scotia, Canso was hardly more than an English fishing-station. Here was a fort, or blockhouse, with a small garrison, large enough in times of peace, but wholly inadequate in a time of war. Cape Breton lay between Canso and Newfoundland, the latter being also under the English domination.

Duquesnel was Governor at Cape Breton, and upon receiving the news of France having become involved with Spain against England, without ad-

vice from Montreal, he sent Duvivier and a small armed squadron, with nine hundred armed men, against Canso. As has been noted, he found the place an easy conquest. The Island of Canso was once more French.[1] The plan against Placentia proving futile, the next appearance of the French was before English Annapolis. Here they found the fort had been reënforced by men from Massachusetts, both of the regular militia and backwoods rangers, who gave the French so effective a repulse that they withdrew. Accompanying the French on this foray were their usual savage allies. There was an effort made, in the following November,[2] to induce the eastern Indians to adhere to their treaty with the English, by aiding the latter to make war on the St. John tribes, which proved ineffectual. The eastern Indians were ready for war, and, regarding the English as their natural enemies, went over to the French.

[1] *Mems. Last War*, pp. 19, 20 (third edition), 1758.
Hutchinson, vol. ii., p. 364.
Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 268.
Haliburton's *Nova Scotia*, vol. i., p. 107.
Minot, vol. i., p. 74.

[2] The Rev. Thomas Smith, the Falmouth minister, has this in his *Journal* of date of 1744, November 14: "Col. Pepperell and others are gone as Commissioners to demand of the Indians their sending the quota of men to join us against the St. Johns' Indians, (with whom we are now at war) agreeably to their agreement in the treaty with Governor Dummer, and

With the summer of 1745, as early as June, the savages began to show themselves in small parties,[1] so that in August the government took official notice of their hostile designs, by declaring them enemies of the province, by a declaration of war.

In the meantime affairs of larger import were taking place, which cannot be passed over without a brief notice. The attack on Canso could not be regarded as otherwise than precipitate, for as yet it may be assumed that the French government had not formulated any plans against the English in Acadia. It was the work of a half-drunk commandant, and, according to contemporary writers of Duquesnel, liquor and an "uncertain temper" seemed to be the chief proclivities of that Frenchman. Duquesnel's hostile overtures destroyed the last hope of the English that the New England provinces might not be drawn into this conflict. Out of it grew, however, the audacious proposition to make a swift reprisal by sending a force for the capture of the Louisburg stronghold, the standing menace to all the northern English colonies, the only French naval station on the Atlantic.

By this movement against Canso the English

in case of their non-compliance, after forty days, to assure them that the government will proclaim war with them."

Smith and Deane's *Journal.*

[1] *Ibid.* "May 26. People are uneasy on account of the Indians; they having been discovered in several places."

were led at once to discern the situation clearly. Here was a menace to their coast navigation, and on the western border her frontier settlements were less than a hundred miles from Lake Champlain; so that the English were open on both sides, east and west, to the hostile movements of the French. Across the wide wilderness that rolled between roamed the Indians, who were only awaiting the active encouragement of the French. Some of the settlers had left their frontier cabins. Later, some settlements were wholly abandoned.

When the autumn of 1744 came Duquesnel was dead. Duchambon was his successor. Duvivier, repulsed at Annapolis, had gone to France for aid in prosecuting the war against the English in Acadia. The French store-ships laden for Louisburg were driven by contrary gales into the West Indies; for the winter had set in boisterously inclement along the St. Lawrence much in advance of the season.

The prisoners taken at Canso had been sent to Boston,[1] however, and it was from some of these,

[1]The prisoners taken at Canso were, in the autumn, exchanged and brought to Boston, when the authorities learned the first definite intelligence of the strength of the fortress. They had got the first news of the capture of Canso from a fisherman, who saw the burning fort, and sailed for Boston. The French, upon the surrender of Canso, had pushed for Annapolis, and were besieging the garrison, when Captain Edward Tyng, in the province snow, arrived with succor,

who had been observant of the condition of Louisburg and its environment, that Governor Shirley received much important information concerning the condition of affairs at Cape Breton.

If one considers Cape Breton Island geographically it will be found lying between the forty-fifth and forty-seventh parallels, north latitude. It is some fifteen leagues from the southwestern extremity of Newfoundland. A narrow strait some eighteen miles in length separates it from the Nova Scotia mainland. The dimensions of Cape Breton are, from northeast to southwest, some one hundred fifty miles, while at its broadest it measures about one hundred miles, having a coast-line of two hundred seventy-five miles, that is broken with many deep bays, being triangular in shape and rising out of the sea a mass of desolate grandeur. Between the going and coming of winter its huge bulk is wrapped in dense fogs, thus taking its only importance from its situation as commanding the waters of the St. Lawrence. Except along its southeastern approaches, it presents an inaccessible shore. On the Louisburg side its harbors are ample and inviting, Louisburg harbor,

and the besiegers dispersed. Tyng, with some seventy or eighty newly raised volunteers, including Indian savages, had sailed from Boston July 2, and on the thirteenth he was back in Boston with the news of the fort's relief.

Memorial History of Boston, vol. ii., p. 113, note.

especially, offering an entrance some four hundred yards in width. Here is a soft bottom, affording safe anchorage, that takes the lead at nine to twelve fathoms. Opening to the southeast along the southern trend of the harbor, a well-disposed neck of land offered a fine town-site; and it was upon this the town was located, about which was a rampart of stone some two miles and a quarter in length, the height of which was from thirty to thirty-six feet, which was further protected by a ditch eighty feet in width except along the shore for a distance of six hundred feet, where the only defence was an ordinary dike supported by a line of pickets.[1]

At this point the sea was shallow, so that only a narrow channel was afforded, which so abounded in reefs that it was practically inaccessible for shipping. The plan of the bastions enabled an enfilading fire to scour this space most effectually, so that attack upon Louisburg from this side was precluded. Along the line of this fortification were six bastions, and three batteries. Their embrasures accommodated one hundred forty-eight cannon. Sixty-five cannon and sixteen mortars were in place at this time and ready for action. At the entrance to the harbor, on Goat Island, was planted a battery — formidable for the times — of thirty guns, throwing twenty-eight-pound shot; while at

[1]Abbé Raynal.

the lower end, or bottom of the harbor, was another battery of twenty-eight forty-two pounders, with two eighteen pounders. Opposite the island battery was a cliff of considerable altitude, on which was the harbor-light, and under its shadow was the magazine of naval stores. Such is a brief description of this American "Dunkirk," which had been twenty-five years in building, and which (1745) was not wholly completed. For this heap of rock France had already paid thirty millions of livres.

Within the town the houses were mostly of wood. The streets were laid out in squares. Here was an ample parade; and adjoining it a spacious citadel, where the governor lived; and in case of siege there were under the ramparts roomy casements for the shelter of the non-combatants. On the land side, west, was an entrance to the town over a drawbridge, which was protected by a round battery of sixteen twenty-four pounders.

This was the Gibraltar of New France, against which the Provincials of New England, in May of 1745, were to lay successful siege.

The project to send a force for the capture of Louisburg seemed to have occurred to several persons simultaneously; but it was Judge Auchmuty, of Boston, who first submitted a formal proposition to the English Ministry for the reduction of the place.[1] He may have had the idea from

[1]Vaughan had not been at Louisburg; but had learned

William Vaughn, afterward Lieutenant-Governor of New Hampshire. Governor Shirley, however, has been credited with having planned this bold enterprise; who, once the idea had found lodgment in his mind, had enlisted all his energies to carry it to a prosperous fulfilment.[1]

To some it was a visionary scheme; while others were inclined to entertain the matter; and still others rejected it flatly. It was put before the General Court under a pledge of secrecy; but the project was defeated, and afterward became matter for open and public discussion. Possibly for the furtherance of Shirley's desire this was the best thing that could have happened; for the more the idea was tossed about the more apparently feasible it seemed, until finally the Legislature came around to Shirley's view, and the project won by a single vote.[2]

Shirley's project, although well started, had a

from fishermen and others something of the strength and situation of the place; and in his view, nothing being impracticable which he had a mind to accomplish, he conceived a design to take the city by surprise; and even proposed going over the walls in the winter on the drifts of snow. This idea of a surprisal forcibly struck the mind of Shirley, and prevailed with him to hasten his preparations — before he could have any answer or orders from England.

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 269.

[1] Prince's *Sermon*, Boston, 1745.

Chauncy's *Sermon*.

1 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vii., p. 69.

[2] The secret was kept for some days; till an honest mem-

rough road before; for the crux of the matter was to come with the consideration by the General Court of the matter of appropriations necessary to float the enterprise.

Being authorized to enlist the expedition, Shirley began his preparations for the prosecution of the enterprise.[1] The United Colonies were notified, and coöperation urged; but with the exception of a park of artillery from New York and a store of

ber, who performed the family devotion at his lodgings, inadvertently discovered it by praying for a blessing on the attempt. At the first deliberation the proposal was rejected; but by the address of the governor and the invincible perseverance of Vaughan, a petition from the merchants concerned in the fishery was brought into court, which revived the affair; and it was finally carried in the affirmative by a majority of one voice, in the absence of several members who were known to be against it. Circular letters were immediately despatched to all the colonies, as far as Pennsylvania, requesting their assistance, and an embargo on their ports.

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 270.

[1] *Massachusetts Records.*

Mems. Last War, pp. 34-37

American Magazine, vol. ii., p. 166.

Gibson's *Journal*, pp. 16-19.

Hutchinson, vol. ii., pp. 365-368.

Grahame, pp. 166-168.

Shirley issued his proclamation January 26, 1745.

Shirley was less fortunate in Rhode Island. The governor of that little colony called Massachusetts "our avowed enemy, always trying to defame us." There was a grudge between the neighbors, due partly to notorious ill-treatment by the Massa-

provisions from Pennsylvania, also the grant of four thousand pounds from New Hampshire and two hundred fifty men, with five hundred sixteen from Connecticut, the burden fell upon Massa-

chusetts Puritans of Roger Williams, founder of Rhode Island, and partly to one of those boundary disputes which often produced ill-blood among the colonies. The representatives of Rhode Island, forgetting past differences, voted to raise a hundred fifty men for the expedition, till, learning that the project was neither ordered nor approved by the Home Government, they prudently reconsidered their action. They voted, however, that the colony sloop *Tartar*, carrying fourteen cannon and twelve swivels, should be equipped and manned for the service, and that the governor should be instructed to find and commission a captain and a lieutenant to command her.

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. ii., pp. 71, 72.

Mems. Last War, p. 37; *American Magazine*, vol. ii., p. 169; Rolts's *Impartial Representation* (vol. iv., p. 13) is quoted in *1 Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., p. 110, as giving an account of this expedition and of the number of troops engaged in it. Also, attached to a volume of sermons on the expedition to Louisburg, in *Lib. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, is a list of the naval armament, which says Massachusetts sent "3 ships of 20 guns, 2 vessels of 16 guns, and 2 of 8 guns, with about 100 transports, besides one vessel of 20 guns and one of 16 hired from Rhode Island." *1 Mass. Hist. Coll.* (vol. i., p. 15) speaks of two vessels from Rhode Island, both of which were "miserable sailers." Bancroft (vol. iii., p. 460) says the New England forces had but "18 cannon and 3 mortars;" but Parsons (*Life of Pepperrell*, p. 50) says the whole number of guns in the fleet was 204, which probably is nearly correct. Perhaps Mr. Bancroft makes a distinction between the land

chusetts,[1] which voted to raise three thousand two hundred fifty men; and the governor consented to an "emission of fifty thousand pounds to be drawn in a tax in the years 1747 and 1748." The General Court voted ten thousand pounds to carry on the expedition, and the support of the province government, conjointly, to be drawn in taxes in ten yearly payments, beginning in 1755. This was objected to by the council, which declared the appropriation should be wholly at the service of this expedition, and that the taxes should begin in 1751; but the General Court adhered to its original vote. Then Shirley took a hand in the controversy, which controlled all discussion until General Court was adjourned to such time as the governor should have been amicably consulted and his conclusion returned.

It was rumored that the Legislature had refused both men and money; but the House came to its senses, and it amended its vote, increasing the appropriation to thirteen thousand pounds,

and sea forces; but even in this case his estimate is below that given in the text.

Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, p. 141, note.

[1]Hutchinson, vol. ii., p. 369.

Marshall's *Washington*, vol. i., pp. 348-351.

Parson's *Life of Pepperrell*, p. 57.

Massachusetts Records.

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 270.

Wheeler, *History of Brunswick*, p. 57.

and set 1751 as the time the taxes should begin to be levied on this account, which finally gained the governor's consent.[1]

From this the preparations went on with increased energy, until the men were raised and equipped, with the exception of the Rhode Island contingent. The Provincial navy was made up of three twenty-gun frigates, a "snow" of sixteen guns, a twelve-gun brigantine, and five sloops, each mounting from eight to twelve carriage-guns, all provided by Massachusetts; the armed sloops of Rhode Island and Connecticut each carrying sixteen guns; and a small sloop fitted out by New Hampshire.

In addition to this armament were the muni-

[1]After his defeat in the Assembly, Shirley returned, vexed and disappointed, to his house in Roxbury. A few days later, James Gibson, a Boston merchant, says that he saw him "walking slowly down King Street, with his head bowed down, as if in a deep study. He entered my counting-room," pursues the merchant, "and abruptly said, 'Gibson, do you feel like giving up the expedition to Louisburg?'" Gibson replied that he wished the House would reconsider their vote. "You are the very man I want!" exclaimed the governor. They then drew up a petition for reconsideration, which Gibson signed, promising to get also the signatures of merchants, not only of Boston, but of Salem, Marblehead, and other towns along the coast. In this he was completely successful, as all New England merchants looked on Louisburg as an arch-enemy.

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. ii., pp. 67, 68.

tions of war, consisting of eight twenty-two pounders, twelve nine pounders, two twelve-inch mortars, with two of smaller caliber which were taken from "the Castle," along with ten eighteen-pound guns loaned by New York.

The chief of artillery was Richard Gridley,[1] an expert engineer. The commander of the expedition was Captain Edward Tyng.[2] The squadron carried about two hundred guns, and was supported by ninety transports, under Captain Rous. The chief in command was William Pepperrell.[3] Samuel

[1]The same who planned the redoubt at Bunker Hill, in 1775.

[2]The siege train was mostly taken from the Castle. One of the vessels accompanying the fleet was the *Massachusetts*, frigate, Captain Edward Tyng. Shirley had directed Tyng, says Preble, in his "Notes on Early Ship-Building" (*New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, October, 1871, p. 363), to find the largest ship he could to accompany the Massachusetts contingent. One was found on the stocks, nearly ready for launching; and under Tyng's supervision she was strengthened and pierced for twenty-four or twenty-six guns. Tyng was a grandson of the early settler in Boston of the same name; had earlier commanded the snow *Prince of Orange*, and in her had captured, in June, 1744, a French privateer on our coast, which caused some Boston merchants to give him a piece of plate. He died in 1755. See Alden, *Epitaphs*, vol. ii., p. 328; Drake, *Five Years' French and Indian War*, p. 246.

Memorial History of Boston, vol. ii., p. 115, note.

[3]The following private note was sent from Boston to Pepperrell, whilst at Louisburg, and found among his papers:

Waldo was second in command.[1] The personnel of this expedition was of exceptional promise.

The fleet sailed from Nantasket direct for Canso, March 24, 1745. A blockhouse was to be erected at Canso, where the stores were to be landed and an adequate guard left to protect them.[2] Canso was reached April 4, where the New Hampshire contingent had been waiting for the Massachusetts forces four days. Here at Canso the Provincial fleet was joined by several of His Majesty's ships, and also by a squadron under Commodore Warren by order of the Duke of Bedford, first lord of the admiralty. The Connecticut troops came in April 25.[3]

"You was made general, being a popular man, most likely to raise soldiers soonest. The expedition was calculated to establish Sh——, and make his creature W. governor of Cape Breton, which is to be a place of refuge to him from his creditors. Beware of snakes in the grass, and mark their hissing."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 271, note.

[1] A native of Boston, Waldo was a resident of Maine.
History of Massachusetts Bay, vol. ii., p. 371.

[2] Pepperrell *MSS.*
Prince's *Sermon.*
Belknap's *History of New Hampshire*, vol. ii., p. 195.
Grahame, vol. ii., p. 164.

[3] Hutchinson adds, with grim humor: "Rhode Island waited until a better judgment could be made of the event, their three hundred not arriving until after the place had surrendered."

History of Massachusetts Bay, vol. ii., p. 371.

At Canso, quiet prevailed, and the soldiers arriving first awaited the coming of the remainder of the fleet and the melting of the ice alongshore. The fortunes of war were apparently with the English.[1] So far matters had gone smoothly, but, as Barry says, "The scheme of Governor Shirley does not seem to evince on his part an extraordinary knowledge of military affairs."

Shirley says, in a letter to Wentworth, Lieutenant-Governor of New Hampshire, when he urged him to send troops to Boston: "The success of our scheme for surprising Louisburg will entirely depend on the execution of the first night, after the arrival of our forces. For this purpose, it is necessary, that the whole fleet should make Chappeau-rouge point just at the shutting in of the day, when they cannot easily be discovered, and from thence push into the bay, so as to have all the men landed before midnight; (the landing of whom, it is computed by captain Durell and Mr. Bastide, will take up three hours at least.) After which, the forming of the four several corps, to be employed in attempting to scale the walls of Louisburg, near the east gate, fronting the sea, and the west gate, fronting the harbor; to cover the retreat

[1] Prince's *Thanksgiving Sermon*, p. 15.
Chauncy's *Sermon*, pp. 15, 16.
Eliot's *Sermon*, p. 12.
Douglas.

of the before mentioned parties in case of a repulse; and, to attack the grand battery; (which attack must be made at the same time with the two other attacks) will take up two hours more at least. After these four bodies are formed, their march to their respective posts from whence they are to make their attacks and serve as a cover to the retreat, will take up another two hours; which, supposing the transports to arrive in Chappeau-rouge bay at nine o'clock in the evening, and not before, as it will be necessary for them to do, in order to land and march under cover of the night, will bring them to four in the morning, being day break, before they begin the attack, which will be full late for them to begin. Your excellency will from hence perceive how critical an affair, the time of the fleet's arrival in Chappeau-rouge bay is, and how necessary it is to the success of our principal scheme, that the fleet should arrive there, in a body, at that precise hour."[1]

For nearly three weeks Pepperrell was held up by the ice at Canso, and up to this time the French, who had heard rumors of the expedition, and who up to the appearance of the English fleet had treated the story as an idle tale, had now to make preparations for a desperate defence with the land-

[1] Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, vol. ii., pp. 209, 210. Compare *1 Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., pp. 5-10.

ing of the English at Gabarus Bay, April 30.[1] The French were not in the best condition as to the *morale* of its garrison; for the soldiers, many of them, were discontented and mutinous. The garrison was short of stores by reason of their relief-ships being late in the season and being wind-driven far southward.

But the English had made a landing upon Cape Breton. Little, if any, opposition had been offered, but the intended surprise fell through; for, instead of sailing into Chappeau-rouge Bay under the friendly cover of night, they were arrayed in all

[1] The troops were detained at Canseau three weeks, waiting for the ice which environed the island of Cape Breton to be dissolved. They were all this time within view of St. Peter's, but were not discovered. Their provisions became short; but they were supplied by prizes taken by the cruisers. Among others, the New Hampshire sloop took a ship from Martinico, and retook one of the transports which she had taken the day before. At length, to their great joy, Commodore Warren, in the *Superbe*, of sixty guns, with three other ships of forty guns each, arrived at Canseau, and, having held a consultation with the general, proceeded to cruise before Louisburg. The general, having sent the New Hampshire sloop to cover a detachment which destroyed the village of St. Peter's and scattered the inhabitants, sailed with the whole fleet; but instead of making Chappeau-rouge Point in the evening, the wind falling short, they made it at the dawn of the next morning; and their appearance in the bay gave to the French the first notice of a design formed against them.

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 276.

the panoply of war before the French in the white light of the breaking day.

Belknap calls Vaughn the "adventurer from New Hampshire;"[1] but it was Vaughn who led "the first column through the woods within sight of the city," to arouse the French, after which he captured and burned some warehouses and destroyed a large quantity of liquors.

The smoke of the burning warehouses, driven by the wind into the "grand battery," created such a panic among the French that they at once abandoned it, spiking their guns before they went, cutting, as well, the halyards of the flag-staff.[2] The following morning Vaughn had made his entrance into the city, with thirteen men, to find himself at

[1] Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 277.

[2] Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. ii., p. 101.

The next morning, as Vaughn was returning with thirteen men only, he crept up the hill which overlooked the battery and observed that the chimneys of the barrack were without smoke, and the staff without a flag. With a bottle of brandy, which he had in his pocket (though he never drank spirituous liquors), he hired one of his party, a Cape Cod Indian, to crawl in at an embrasure and open the gate. He then wrote to the general these words: "May it please your honor, to be informed, that by the grace of God, and the courage of thirteen men, I entered the royal battery, about nine o'clock, and am waiting for a reinforcement, and a flag." Before either could arrive one of the men climbed up the staff with a red coat in his teeth, which he fastened by a nail to the top.

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 277.

once beset by a hundred of the garrison in boats to retake the battery occupied by Vaughn; but, notwithstanding his little force was under a galling fire, he kept the French from making a landing, and held his ground until a sufficient support was sent him.

For the next fourteen nights the English were bringing up their heavy guns from the landing-place on rude wooden sledges, the men performing the labor of beasts of burden, knee-deep in the mud, for which they obtained small credit in the official reports of the labors of the siege to the Ministry.

It was not until May 4 that the fourth battery was in position, and the garrison of Louisburg, comprising five hundred sixty regulars and a little less than fifteen hundred militia, made up partly of the habitants of the town proper and partly from the settlements, was to pass the slow days until the "capitulation."

The occupation of the "grand battery" was undoubtedly the precursor of defeat for the French. Its abandonment was an egregious military blunder on the part of Duchambon, who seemed to possess the faculty of blundering to a marked degree.

When the fifth battery had been planted some two hundred fifty yards from the West Gate (The Porte Dauphin), May 20, the battering down of that barrier began, until the town was "shot

through and through and completely riddled" and the people compelled to take refuge in the casemates.

Pepperrell had sent in a summons to Duchambon to surrender. The latter had refused. A vessel had been despatched to Boston for another thousand men and additional stores; but before Pepperrell's messenger had returned a French sixty-four-gun ship had sailed into the mesh of the English fleet and the *Vigilant* was stripped of her French crew and manned with English sailors. She became a notable addition to the English squadron.[1] Her five hundred men were made prisoners, and her heavy lading of military stores came to the besiegers as a most grateful contribution to their necessities.

Twenty-nine days the siege had continued, when a slight difference arose between Pepperrell and Warren as to the plan to be pursued to bring Duchambon to summary terms. Both these gentlemen wished the prestige of the victory. Warren wished it for his squadron; and Pepperrell, for the

[1] *Journal of the Siege*, p. 27.

1 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. i., p. 43.

Proclamations of Governor Shirley, issued June 1 and June 4.

Gibson's *Journal*, pp. 51, 52.

American Magazine, vol. ii., p. 223.

Parson's *Life of Pepperrell*, pp. 67, 68, 72.

army.[1] It was agreed between them, however, that the attack should be pushed, and Pepperrell had arranged the matter to Warren's satisfaction, and then began the sorties against the island battery. Five or six attempts had failed, and the fight had gone on; until out of Pepperrell's four thousand men, only twenty-one hundred were capable of efficient service. Then it occurred to Warren to send the Marquis de la Maisonforte, the former commander of the *Vigilant*, into Louisburg to inform Duchambon that his vessel, with her stores, had been captured by the English. The following

[1] *1 Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., p. 32.

Haliburton's *Nova Scotia*, vol. i., p. 115, note.

That part of the correspondence of Pepperrell, preserved by Parsons, in which he uniformly speaks in high praise of Warren is certainly in favor of his high conduct in the enterprise, and proves him to have been actuated by a patriotism as fervent as it was disinterested and pure. He knew what belonged to his office, and maintained his rights with dignity; and he was jealous of the intentions of Warren more for his country's sake than for his own, fearing that the services of the New England troops might be depreciated, and that less notice might be taken of their valor than they rightfully deserved. Governor Shirley seems to have anticipated these difficulties, as appears from one of his letters written at the time. *Vide 1 Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., p. 17.

It was through the mismanagement of Shirley that these difficulties arose. *Vide* his letter to Warren, *1 Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., p. 36.

Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, p. 149, note.

day the Marquis and Captain Macdonald went into Louisburg under a flag of truce.

Louisburg was impregnable against assault, but the English did not know it until Captain Macdonald had returned from his errand. The last assault on the land battery had been made, and out of four hundred men from the English ships and shore forces one hundred eighty-nine had been killed or captured by D'Ailleboust at the island battery between the dark of midnight and dawn. A disastrous skirmish for the French occurred at Lighthouse Point. Beaubassin went to dislodge the English battery; but, being discovered by the English outpost, he was practically driven into the sea. Sieur de la Vallière had no better success in his sortie against Pepperrell's storehouses on Flat Point Cove. A dozen or more of his men were captured by the English, and the remainder of his force was badly cut up. At Petit Lorembec twenty English soldiers fell into an Indian ambush, most of whom were shot down. The others surrendered, to be butchered in cold blood or tortured under the lead of two or three Frenchmen.

In the meantime Annapolis was being besieged by six or seven hundred French and Indians. This time the "Neutrals" joined Marin's forces. Mascarene kept them off until May 24, when, to his great surprise, the besiegers had decamped in the night. Duchambon had sent for Marin to repair at once to Louisburg.

Gridley, at Lighthouse Point, was pouring destruction into the island battery. Many of its guns were unmanageable, and it was only a question of time when the place would have to be abandoned. Warren and Pepperrell were discussing the method of attack to be made on the French fortifications. They came to the decision to make a joint attack by sea and land. Warren was to push his fleet into the harbor and engage in a brisk bombardment, while Pepperrell made an attack on the land side. A Dutch flag at the masthead, under the commodore's pennant, was the signal that his fleet was under way for the harbor.

All preparations were made, when the French drums beat the "parley," and La Perelle came into the English lines with a billet from Duchambon, asking for a cessation of hostilities while he would draw up such terms of capitulation as seemed to him fairly honorable. The billet, which was directed to Warren and Pepperrell cojointly, reached both at the same time, as Warren had just joined Pepperrell on shore as La Perelle came in. Both answered, over their joint signatures, that they would wait until the following morning. Duchambon's proposals were rejected. He rejected those of the English. Finally, the French governor stipulated for the army that it might march out of Louisburg with arms and colors, to which Warren and Pepperrell at once agreed (June 16); and the next day the English had marched into Louisburg.

The siege had cost the French three hundred men; the English, but one hundred thirty. This number, however, was to be increased by the after-effects of the exposure to which the Provincial troops were subjected, of which no accurate estimate can be made.

The day following the acceptance of the terms of the capitulation the victorious Provincials entered Louisburg. It was then they were able to appreciate the greatness of their accomplishment. It was a great victory for the New Englanders; and it does not appear by any portion of the relation that much of the credit of the enterprise belonged to Warren, except that he maintained a strict blockade. The capture of the *Vigilant* was the only naval event; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the aggressive spirit of the New England fleet, with its two hundred guns, would have been particularly daunted by a single sixty-four-gun ship. It is apparent to the candid observer of events that it was to Pepperrell the fame belonged.[1] He was the chief of the expedition;

[1]The *Habitant de Louisbourg* says that each of the two commanders was eager that the keys of the fortress should be delivered to him, and not to his colleague; that before the surrender Warren sent an officer to persuade the French that it would be for their advantage to make their submission to him rather than to Pepperrell; and that it was in fact so made. Wolcott, on the other hand, with the best means of learning the truth, says in his diary that Pepperrell received the keys

but Pepperrell's greatness on this occasion is not so remarkable as a victor as it is in the generosity he showed to Warren in his willingness to yield the larger honors to the English commodore. The work was altogether accomplished by the land forces, and it is to them and their endurance and reckless courage one has to award the wreath of bay.[1] As between the Englishman and the Provincial, the former alone betrays the taint of jealousy; for, both in his reports and in his personal relations of the event in England, he assumed to wear the honors of this victory,— for a victory it was in the largest sense of the term,— without reference to where the credit should he placed.

at the South Gate. The report that it was the British commodore, and not their own general, to whom Louisburg surrendered made a prodigious stir among the inhabitants of New England, who had the touchiness common to small and ambitious people; and as they had begun the enterprise and borne most of its burdens and dangers, they thought themselves entitled to the chief credit of it. Pepperrell was blamed as lukewarm for the honor of his country because he did not demand the keys and reject the capitulation if they were refused. After all this ebullition, it appeared that the keys were in his hands; for when, soon after the siege, Shirley came to Louisburg, Pepperrell formally presented them to him, in presence of the soldiers.

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. ii., p. 140.

[1] *Report of Consultation on Board the Superbe*, June 7, 1745: "Commodore Warren did say publickly that before the Circular Battery was reduced he would not venture in here with

Time, however, made the merits of the case clear, in which the magnanimity of Pepperrell shone with a clearer luster by reason of the misrepresentations of his coadjutor, which prevailed for a time.[1]

The loss of Louisburg was no less a mortification to France than it was an occasion of astonishment

three times y^e^ sea force he had with him, and, through divine assistance, we tore that [battery] and this city almost to pieces."

Pepperrell to Shirley, July 4, 1745.

Warren had no men to spare. He says: "If it should be thought necessary to join your troops with any men from our ships, it should only be done for some sudden attack that may be executed in one day or night."

Warren to Pepperrell, May 11, 1745.

No such occasion arose.

Ibid, May 13, 1745.

On the nineteenth of May, 1746, Warren made a parting speech to the New England men at Louisburg, in which he tells them that it was they who conquered the country, and expresses the hope that should the French try to recover it, "the same Spirit that induced you to make this Conquest will prompt you to protect it." *Vide* the speech in *Beamish-Murdoch*, vol. ii., pp. 100-102.

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. ii., p. 139, notes.

[1]Bollan's *Letter*, in *1 Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., pp. 53, 54.

Letter to the Earl of Sandwich, in *1 Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., pp. 108-111.

Chalmers, *Revolt*, vol. ii., p. 241.

Parson's *Life of Pepperrell*, pp. 101, 102.

The jealousy between Warren and Pepperrell does not seem to have been permanent, nor did it affect the friendliness of their intercourse. Indeed, the two officers continued

and rejoicing for the colonies.[1] Those of the latter to be dissatisfied were the soldiers, who had anticipated plundering the town, which the capitulation expressly provided against,[2] the only exception being some desecration of the Catholic chapel by Parson Moody, of York, who, it was said, made some iconoclastic efforts with an axe upon the altar and some "images."[3]

The news reached Boston on a fast day (July 2),

to regard each other with esteem through life; and their correspondence indicates that the rivalry which was called forth during the excitement of the siege was only such as often springs up on such occasions; and both gentlemen had too much good sense to carry the matter so far as to make it the ground of perpetual contention.

Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. ii., p. 153, note.

[1] Voltaire, in his *Siècle de Louis XV.*, ranks among the great events of the period this capture of a strong fortress by the husbandmen of New England. Parkman, on the other hand, thinks it the result of "mere audacity and hardihood, backed by the rarest good luck."

Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. ii., p. 118.

[2] "Thursday, y^e^ 21st. Y^e^ French keep possession yet, and we are forced to stand at their Dores to gard them."

Diary of a Soldier, anonymous.

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. ii., p. 136, note.

[3] Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. ii., p. 136.

A cross from this chapel, brought home by the Massachusetts troops, is now placed over the main entrance of the College Library at Cambridge.

Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. ii., p. 118, note.

and from that place it flew through the colonies; and so great was the desire of the western colonies to share in the afterglow that, of them, New York offered three thousand pounds toward lifting the burden of the conquest and future support of the Louisburg fortress; New Jersey offered two thousand pounds; and Pennsylvania, four thousand. Rhode Island's war-sloops redeemed Wanton's dilatoriness by dispersing the French flotilla which was speeding toward Louisburg from Annapolis. They did good work elsewhere, sending into Newport that year as many as twenty French prizes.

The colonies were favored this year with bounteous crops, while in Canada the dry season cut into the supplies of New France; and hardly had the Provincial troops got comfortably settled under the sheltering roofs of Louisburg than the drouth, that had prevailed for weeks, changed to a cold, drenching rain of almost a fortnight's duration. Parson Moody reflected somewhat the feeling of the time at the dinner given by Pepperrell to the commodore and the officers of the fleet in the Louisburg citadel, when he offered this "grace:" "Good Lord, we have so much to thank thee for, that time will be too short, and we must leave it for eternity. Bless our food and fellowship on this joyful occasion, for the sake of Christ, our Lord. Amen!"[1]

[1] Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. ii., p. 135.

In the colonies this success raised the war-spirit to such a pitch that plans were proposed by those as far south as Virginia for the conquest of Canada, while England saw in it the seeds of an independence which might easily be created if the colonies were to achieve many more conquests of this sort;[1] so when the overtures were made to the Ministry for an English fleet to offset the colonial land forces the Duke of Bedford objected for that reason, and the project fell through.[2] Bedford credited the

[1]Mr. Thomas Wentworth Higginson quotes Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveler, in his *French and Indian Wars*, Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. ii., p. 120. Kalm wrote from New York, in 1748: "There is reason enough for doubting whether the king, if he had the power, would wish to drive the French from their possessions in Canada. . . . The English Government has therefore reason to regard the French in North America as the chief power that urges their colonies to submission."

Mr. Higginson comments in the text: "Whatever may have been the truth of these prognostications, it is certain that, after three years more of occasional Indian outrages, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was made in 1748, providing for the mutual restoration of all conquests; and Louisburg accordingly reverted to the French."

[2]It was perhaps because of these projects that, in 1746, special efforts were made to discover all subjects of the French king in Boston, and to commit them to jail. The city clerk's files disclose various papers on the subject. Early in September they had the news in Boston of the sack of Fort Massachusetts.

Memorial History of Boston, vol. ii., p. 119, note.

navy with the brilliancy of the Louisburg exploit, at the expense of the army; yet Pepperrell came out of it with a baronetcy which had cost him, in expenses incurred in promoting the Louisburg expedition, not less than ten thousand pounds sterling. The same distinction was accorded Warren, who risked only his naval prestige in addition to his immediate promotion to the rank of admiral. Pepperrell was also commissioned a colonel in the British army, but was empowered to raise a regiment in the New England province, to be equipped and paid by the Crown.[1]

[1]The same emolument was given to Shirley, and both he and Wentworth acquired so much reputation as to be confirmed in their places. Vaughan went to England to seek a reward for his services, and there died of the smallpox.

He died in London about the middle of December, 1746. He was born at Portsmouth, September 12, 1703, and graduated at Harvard College in 1722. For several years he was a merchant in his native town; but, possessing an enterprising disposition, accompanied by a few hardy adventurers from the neighboring towns, he left Portsmouth, emigrated to the eastern country, and formed a settlement at a place called Damariscotta, about thirteen miles below Fort Pemaquid. He died a disappointed man; for while the successful commander of the expedition was soon after knighted and otherwise distinguished, the intrepid Vaughan remained more than a year in England, in the vain expectation of receiving some compensation from the sovereign whom he had so signally served. See the *Collection of Farmer and Moore*, vol. ii., pp. 161-165; vol. iii., pp. 35, 36.

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 280.

The next thing to be settled was the relative proportion of the charges of this expedition to be assumed by the Crown. "The sum of one hundred eighty-three thousand, six hundred and forty-nine pounds was sent to Boston in coin, and six hundred and fifty-three thousand ounces of silver, and ten tons of copper. It took seventeen carts to carry the copper to the treasurer's office."[1] New Hampshire received as a reimbursement of her charges sixteen thousand three hundred fifty-three pounds sterling. With these adjustments the story of the capture of Louisburg is briefly and perhaps too meagerly related.[2]

Reprisals by the French were anticipated by the colonies, and in September rumors were abroad of the possible coming of the French admiral, D'Anville.[3] The victory of Culloden had become com-

[1] Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. ii., p. 120, note.

[2] In this relation of the siege and capture of Louisburg the author has not endeavored to emulate the detail offered by many writers on the subject. After Mr. Parkman, any effort in that direction may well be regarded as superfluous. Parkman's account is preëminently acceptable and entertaining.

[3] The apprehension was strong in England that D'Anville would succeed in recovering Acadia and establish himself at Chebuctou, "which it is evident they design by their preparations."

Bedford *Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 156.

Narrative and Critical History of America, "New England, 1689–1763," vol. v., p. 147, note.

mon news in the preceding August, and a public thanksgiving had been celebrated in honor of the event, but the possible appearing of the French fleet was still a formidable bugbear. Troops poured into Boston, some six or seven thousand in number, to pitch their tents on Boston Common. The harbor defences were strengthened. Look-outs were established, and every precaution taken against a surprise. Rhode Island was constructing forts, and Connecticut had pledged all the assistance in her power to Boston, if that city should require reënforcement. Such of the French as happened to be in the colonies were under strict surveillance, and a fast was ordered.

Reverend Thomas Prince preached the sermon at the Boston Meeting-house, and amid the gusty rattling of the windows that answered to the buffeting of the rising storm he besought a Divine Providence to use it as a means of dispersing the French fleet. Whether or not his prayer had the desired effect, the fact remains that it was granted, as the gallant squadron of the French admiral was so crippled by tempest and shipwreck upon its arrival on the Acadian coast that hostile operations were abandoned. D'Anville died, and the suicide of his successor sent what remained of the French fleet back to France, its object utterly defeated.[1]

[1] *Mems. Last War*, pp. 64-67.

Parson's *Life of Pepperrell* (p. 147) gives the name of

This most formidable expedition ever fitted out against the English colonies, comprising nearly half the entire French naval force at that time, was the messenger of ill-fortune; for it left behind, among the Cape Sable Indians, who were the most active allies of the French, an infection which at that time prevailed among the French seamen, by which nearly two-thirds of these savages were swept out of existence.[1]

While these events just narrated were going on, the savages had begun their ravages. They first appeared in the vicinity of St. Georges and Damariscotta (Newcastle). In the latter place, July 19, 1745, they burned a garrison-house, a few cabins, and a sawmill. At St. Georges they came upon a woman some three hundred yards from the fort, whom they at once attacked. In her flight she was wounded by a gunshot, which fortunately aroused the garrison. The soldiers appearing on the scene created such a diversion in favor of the woman that in the confusion she made her escape, getting into the fort safely. The garrison being now fully aroused, the savages disappeared into the woods. The same month, over in Topsham, they killed a man and scalped a boy; and from there they went

D'Estournelle, instead of La Jonquière, as the successor of the Duke d'Anville.

Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. ii., p. 157, note.

[1] *Mems. Last War*, p. 68.

to New Meadows, where they shot a horse and his rider.[1]

Shortly before, thirty savages made their way to North Yarmouth. In this settlement were two forts. They were situated about a mile apart, being connected by a well-traveled trail, and it was over this the settlers went as they visited back and forth between the forts. In June, 1746, Joseph Sweat, of Falmouth, was making his way on horseback in this direction. The trail wound through the woods, which at that time were dense with the new foliage. The trail was narrow, and the verdure of the trees crowded the horse-path — for it was no more than a woodland path. It was rough, and he was no doubt allowing his animal to pick its way along, when he was surrounded by savages and killed and scalped. It was no doubt the work of an instant and shows the temerity of the English in going about alone and plunging into the midst of hidden dangers.

Philip Greeley,[2] who lived at North Yarmouth,

[1]August 23, 1745. War with the Indians was proclaimed at Boston.

The Indians killed a man and a horse at Red Meadows.

Parson Smith's *Journal*, pp. 40, 120.

Drake, *French and Indian Wars*, p. 80.

October 11, 1745, the savages appeared at Great Meadows, Putney, where they captured a settler by the name of Howe.

Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 540.

[2]Williamson regards the shooting of Greeley as not pre-

was going, about this time (Parson Thomas Smith locates the time as around and prior to August 9), along the road between the two forts. He had to cross a gully in which some savages had secreted themselves, awaiting a favorable opportunity to make an attack on the Weir garrison. Greeley had his dog along with him. The animal came upon the savages, and, finding themselves discovered, they at once shot Greeley from their ambush. It was by the sacrifice of Greeley, who was a prominent man in the settlement, that the inmates of the garrison were saved from a surprise.

The savages were abroad in small bands, scattered through the woods adjacent to the border settlements the entire length of the Maine frontier and well across the Piscataqua into New Hampshire. There was no safety anywhere for the settler, and yet there were many who with a peculiar recklessness and hardihood kept their cabins, trusting to their wits or their watchfulness to avoid danger; and it was upon these the savages wreaked their butcheries, the latter often skulking within the woodland edge for days to catch the settler off his guard, or his cabin unprotected. When the

meditated, as the garrisons were not troubled at that time. The savage was a most patient waiter. Sullivan makes the date as May. Parson Smith, in his *Journal*, makes note of Greeley's murder, August 9. "Philip Greeley was killed" is Smith's entry. Sullivan is careless in matter of dates.

men went into the fields to work others stood guard; but this was not infrequently unavailing, as it happened more often than not that the sentinel was the victim.

At Georgetown, two men went a short distance from the garrison upon some errand of the moment. They were shot and scalped in a moment of time, and the savages were away before the garrison realized what had happened. At this same place two men went out after rock-weed. They were surprised, captured, and taken to Canada. At this same garrison, a few days later, two women were milking in sight of the garrison gate. The savages stole out of the bushes, capturing Mrs. Thompson. The other, Mrs. Spear, left her milk-pail and ran for the gate, making her escape.

A few days later the savages surprised young Saunders, whose father was commander of the province sloop. The savages took the trail toward the Penobscot River. When they got to Owl's Head they halted for the night. Saunders was possessed of a jovial disposition and was inclined to accept the situation good-naturedly as they had trudged over the trail. His manner had so disarmed the savages of the suspicion that their captive entertained any desire of escape that, relaxing somewhat their usual vigilance, they one by one fell asleep, leaving Saunders to watch the fading embers or the glow of the overhead stars, as he pleased. Wide-awake himself, he observed the

savages to be deep in their slumbers. Quick to seize the opportunity, he arose noiselessly, and, taking a purse from one of their packs,— which, by the way, was said to have a considerable sum of money in coin,— he stole like a shadow into the obscurity of the woods. Hiding the purse, he afterward got safely to the fort. After the war was over he returned to the place where he had hidden the purse, to find it intact.

It was in this year that Williamson locates the incident of Hunniwell's cutting off the head of a skulking savage on Scarborough marsh, with a scythe. That was, however, one of the episodes of Queen Anne's War, as Hunniwell was killed in the massacre at Great Pond, in 1713.

In the autumn of this year (September 5) Lieutenant Proctor and a small party of English sallied out of the St. Georges garrison, to come upon nineteen savages.[1] A sharp skirmish ensued, in which two sachems were killed and Captain Sam and Colonels Job and Morris were captured. Colonel Cushing's son was killed in this fight. It was such encounters the savages were always anxious to avoid. The white man had adopted all the arts

[1] "1745, September 5. We have news of there being two Indians killed and one taken at Georges. (Mem. The captive is Col. Job; the killed, Col. Morris and Col. Sam. The exploit was done by nineteen of the inhabitants under one Lieut. Proctor.)"

Parson Smith's *Journal*, p. 120.

of the savage in keeping to cover in a fight, and most generally the latter found the odds against them, except where opportunity for an ambush or a surprise offered. In this fight the savages lost five of their leading sachems.

From St. Georges the savages went up river to Sheepscot, where they discovered three men in a field gathering their harvest of corn. They crept along in the edge of the fence, from the shelter of which they shot two, killing them, and wounded the other. There were thirteen savages in this party. The soldiers from the garrison gave chase, but the savages had disappeared like a flock of so many field-mice.[1]

The first settler of Narragansett No. 7 (Gorhamtown) was Captain John Phinney (1639). At the breaking out of Governor Shirley's War ten families made up the settlement. On its northern boundary was the New Marblehead (Windham) settlement. Neither of these could reasonably expect to escape the ravages of the Indians. At this time, in Gorhamtown, the population numbered about sixty; and, as was usual in these more exposed frontier places, here was a fort. Before the

[1] "1745, October 8. We have news that thirteen Indians appeared at Sheepscot last week, viz., Monday, and killed two men and wounded a third, as they were gathering corn. We hear too that five Indians were seen a day after at Cathans, so that I suppose they are now returned from Canada."
Parson Smith's *Journal*, p. 121.

war there were more Indians in this section than there were white people, and up to 1744 the relations between the settlers and the savages had been most friendly. The Indian made himself at home by the settler's fireside, and they trapped and hunted the near-by woods together; but when the war came the Gorhamtown settlers found their old savage acquaintances had become a most treacherous enemy, and the Phinney garrison on Fort Hill proved the salvation of the isolated whites. The Falmouth settlement was sixteen miles away, on the seashore, and could be of little assistance; so these settlers were obliged to depend upon their own resources.

Two years later Phinney was joined by Hugh McLellan and Daniel Mosher.[1] Shortly after, they were joined by others who had built their cabins upon such locations as best suited their inclination. Not far from the fort was a permanent Indian settlement; for here were the rich planting-lands of the Sokoki, who were scattered through this part of the wilderness up the Presumpscot River to the great lake of the Sokoki (Sebago), and so on to the westward as far as the Conway meadows, where the Pequawkets had their tribal village.

As Gorhamtown was directly in the path of the eastern Indians on their way to the settlements further west, this place would be likely to be rav-

[1] McLellan, *History of Gorham*, p. 93.

aged very early in the conflict, as it was. The familiarity of the savages with these settlers gave them a most intimate knowledge of their means of defence and the character of the reception they were likely to get once their hostility was openly and aggressively announced; and many of the savages who swooped down upon one or another of the Gorhamtown cabins had at one time or another been the recipients of many little kindnesses from those — their former acquaintances and neighbors[1] — upon whom they were only waiting opportunity to wreak their hideous treacheries.

Outside of Falmouth this settlement of Gorhamtown was the most important possibly east of Scarborough. Its situation was most likely to invite savage attack; but here was a strong fort of ample dimensions. It surmounted the crest of the highest land in the settlement, and was located on "the thirty acre lot No. 2 on the westerly side of the old road to Standish." In fashion it was an oblong square. Its length was some fifty feet. Its palisade was heavily timbered, and was some twelve feet high. It was protected by flankers (watch-towers) at opposite corners, and on these flankers were mounted a single six-pound swivel.[2]

[1] McLellan, *History of Gorham*, p. 36.

[2] Sometime during the Revolutionary War these swivel-guns were taken to Falmouth to be used there, and were never returned.

Ibid, p. 45.

These were not only for defence, but were used as signal-guns to warn the outlying settlers of their danger when it was known that the savages were prowling in the vicinity.

The morning of April 16, 1746, dawned over Gorhamtown to find all but four of the cabin chimneys smokeless. Rumors of the savages being in the vicinity had alarmed the settlers so that, with the exception of the McLellan, Cloutman, Bryant, and Read families, all had taken refuge within the fort. The Gorham annalist describes the spring as an unusually early one (undoubtedly the fact is traditional), and the weather as "warm and pleasant." The settlers were putting in their crops. These four evidently had some unfinished work afield, and had delayed taking the proper measures of safety for that reason; as in those days, while living was simple and the larder was limited in its variety, they were almost wholly dependent upon what their fields might yield for subsistence. They were lean days, of a surety, without even the cheapest accessories of these times, when the labor of their hands was the only thing between them and hunger.

The day passed uneventfully, and the nightfall came, with its silences. Hugh McLellan and his son William had come in from their day's work, and the family had partaken of the rude fare that made up their evening meal. As the night was warm, the door to their log house was open, across the threshold of which lay the house-dog. There

was a warning growl, and one of the McLellans murmured, "Indians!"

The door was shut and barred. The candle-dips were blown and the windows closed, probably with blocks of wood, for they were hardly more than square openings, unglazed. There were four guns in the cabin. The boy, though only sixteen years of age, was accustomed to handle a musket (game and fur were abundant, and in those days, when folks were not at work in the field or burn, they were trapping), and withal a lusty lad. The wife was as apt and courageous as her husband, and once the cabin was in a state of defence they took stock of their supplies in case of a siege. There was a milk-pan full of powder. There was lead, but no bullets. In those days the open fire was the common appurtenant of frontier living, and, blowing up the coals, the women of the household began to run the hot lead from the skillet into the bullet-molds. It was a sleepless night, for the savage was an expert incendiarist. Once, the dog made a leap at the door, with an audible growl of warning; but the morning came, and with it the sunshine and the same familiar outlook of budding woods, and that was all. The dog was sent out to see if the coast was clear. They found the cattle undisturbed in the low-roofed barn. After breakfast they went into the field with the oxen to take up their work where they had left it the day before. The dog was left at the house.

Neighbor Read came over to borrow a chain. Throwing it over his shoulder, he lighted his pipe and took the road homeward, which was in the direction of the fort. He had to cross a brook that ran at the bottom of a shallow run above the McLellan house. Here he was surprised by two savages. He was a powerful man, but the Indians overcame him finally without using their guns. As it turned, a dozen savages made up the party. They were to operate simultaneously against the four settlers already named. At the Bryant cabin the wife and children were taken. Four of the latter were tomahawked and scalped. The babe was taken from its cradle and its brains were spattered over the jamb of the fireplace. The eldest of the Bryant children killed was fifteen years of age, and her death was born of a sometime cherished revenge.

Two savages went to the field where Bryant and his boy were at work, but they were discovered. Father and son fled, the former toward the fort, and the latter into the adjoining fringe of woodland. The boy escaped. Bryant was in the road on the dead run for the fort, with the savages gaining upon him. Daniel Mosher was coming towards him with his gun. Bryant shouted to Mosher to fire on the savages. Then he leaped over a log into the brook at the foot of the hill, the savages after him. It was there Bryant was killed and scalped, after which the Indians disappeared. Mosher returned to the fort.

Edward Cloutman was the owner of a good gun, and, as well, was a man of powerful physique. The savages knew him well. He was a valued citizen, which enhanced his worth in the calendar of savage butchery. This morning he was at work in his field. Here the Indians came upon him unarmed. He started for the fort, two savages after him. Coming to a fence, he leaped the barrier, to find himself in the clutches of two stout savages. When he had almost freed himself his two pursuers came up, and he was taken to Canada, along with Read.

Luckily, Cloutman had taken the precaution to remove his family into the garrison. The savages who were to effect the capture of the McLellans, having taken Read, left them undisturbed.

Mrs. McLellan heard Mosher's gun, and the Bryant cabin being nearest, she sent little Abigail, her daughter, over to the Bryant house to learn what it meant. Once there, she had no need to ask. Hearing the savages talking at the rear of the cabin, she flew homeward on the wings of the wind. A moment later the long tin horn of the McLellans was sending its call for help across the clearing.

In the field, father and son loosed the team from the plow and hastened to the house, to hear the story of the slaughter of the Bryants. Water was brought, and the house was at once prepared for a siege. Then came the signal-note of the swivel-gun from the fort; but it was not until the following day that they saw a file of men from Fal-

mouth emerge from the woods, and, hunting up the oxen, the McLellans were at last safe in the fort. This was the first foray of the savages on Gorham-town. It was not so disastrous as to numbers, but the details were sufficiently gruesome, so that, as a foretaste of the atrocities to which these settlers were likely to be subjected, they were more than appalling. But the Gorham settlers held to their lands and their cabins, which were not again disturbed until the following year.

Parson Thomas Smith, of Falmouth, notes in his *Journal*, July 19, 1745: "We had an alarm to day on account of an express from Capt. Bradbury, that advised of the Indians breaking out and killing a man and forty cattle, and burning a garrison and saw mill. This is the first mischief in this eastern country, though two men have been killed at the westward this summer." Captain Bradbury was in charge of the garrison at Fort St. Georges.[1]

[1]Jabez Bradbury, being at the time captain of the fort, and, prior to hostilities,— which, in August of that year, were declared against all the tribes,— was also truck-master. On the following month a large body of the Tarratine Indians, who were probably not aware of the declaration, encamped in the vicinity of the fort, to which they sent four principal chiefs, or sagamores, who had assumed English military titles, to procure ammunition. Struck with the perilous condition of these visitants, who were until then apparently ignorant of their danger, Bradbury ordered them to return directly to their companions, or they were dead men. But

May 21 of this year, 1746, Broadbay (Waldoborough) was attacked. Here was a small settlement of German emigrants. The savages burned the place, killed some of the settlers, and carried others to Canada.[1]

A descent was made upon Sheepscot, but, other than killing one settler outright and mortally wounding another, they were unsuccessful. They ambushed five persons, one of whom they shot. Another, mortally wounded, faced his assailant, who was coming to scalp him, shooting the savage

either through fatigue, or, more probably, an intemperate use of strong drink, they encamped on the margin of Mill River for the night. Learning their position, Captain Burton and Lieutenant Proctor of the militia, with a band of men, pursued and found them in their camp. One, whose name has not been preserved, having stepped down to the river for water, escaped. Burton, with a single blow of his sword, cut off the head of Captain Morris, one of the chiefs. Captain Sam, another one, was despatched by Proctor, or some of the party. Colonel Job was taken prisoner and carried to Boston, where he died in confinement. Some regretted the event so early in the war, and so exasperating to the Tarratines. Others rejoiced, especially at the death of Morris, for "he had been a great terror" to the settlers. The son of Morris, in revenge for his father's death, frequently threatened to kill Burton, but never found an opportunity to execute his purpose.

Williamson, in *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. vii., pp. 325, 326.

[1] Eaton's *Narrative MS.*, p. 10.

"May 21 [1746]. News came to us this morning that the

before he could reach his victim to carry out his purpose.[1]

They made a raid on the neighboring settlement of Wiscasset, where they captured Captain Jonathan Williamson and killed nineteen cattle. Williamson was detained in captivity six months, when he was released. A few days later there was a skirmish at Fort St. Georges, but the savages were repulsed.

The Indians appeared at North Yarmouth. There were thirty of them. They divided into small parties to scatter along the edge of Falmouth. Seven came upon some soldiers in the Westcott field, where Westcott was at work with his men. The savages were unusually bold on this occasion, and at once attacked the English, who were four times their number. They killed two of the soldiers, and scalped them; but the garrison at Falmouth, being aroused by the reports of the guns, sent out a scouting-party, which, coming upon the

Indians had burnt all the houses at Broad Bay, and killed cattle at Pemaquid."

Smith's *Journal*, p. 123.

Maine Hist. Coll., vol. v., p. 403.

[1] "May 27 [1746]. News from Sheepscot that five persons returning from meeting were fired upon by fifteen Indians, who killed one and mortally wounded a second, which second killed an Indian as the Indian was coming to kill him."

Smith's *Journal*, p. 123.

savages by surprise, drove them into the woods.[1] Their design was to attack the Frost garrison at this place, but the coming of the soldiers from Falmouth possibly saved Frost for a greater disaster, which was to befall him later.

The savages still skulked about the woods in the vicinity; for, four days later, that garrison, discovering a savage who had come into the settlement, fired at him three times, to afterward chase the spy into the woods. The following Sunday, June 15, Parson Smith notes that the appearance of a savage "near the Causeway by Chapman's (near what is now called the Horse Tavern) kept the men from church, so many were out pursuing him." He notes in another place in his *Journal:* "People seem wonderfully spirited to go out after the Indians. Four companies in this town (Sept. 19, 1745) and many more in other towns, are fitting for it: the government offer four hundred pounds for the scalp of a man to those who go out at their own expense, and three hundred and ten pounds to those who have provision from the Province."

[1] "June 6, 1746. Two soldiers were killed by the Indians at the side of Westcoat's field, (at Long Creek). There were twenty-five soldiers in the field, besides Westcoat's own folks, and only seven Indians drove them all; scalped the two men, took their clothes and three guns; (after Skillen, Stephen Irish, and one or more of our men had courageously stood and made a few fires) the Indians never supposed there were so many men there, but only Westcoat's hands."

Smith's *Journal*, p. 123.

June 16, 1746, he entered in his *Journal:* "Our people seem more awakened and alarmed on account of the Indians than they have ever been. It is the same scout of Indians that are still upon our back, and which did the mischief at Gorhamtown. They grow exceeding bold having no check as yet." The following day he notes he was at New Casco "at the funeral of Joseph Sweat, who yesterday P.M. (June 16, 1746) was killed by the Indians near Blanchard's at North Yarmouth." This same morning Merriconeag was attacked, and the noise of the guns was heard all the way along the woodland from that settlement to North Yarmouth. It does not appear that much damage was done, as the settlers had very generally taken refuge in the garrisons. The settlers, many of them, went about their errands indifferent to the situation, despite the fact that so many of their neighbors had fallen into the hands of the savages.

August 13, following the killing of Greeley at North Yarmouth, two Frenchmen and an Indian waylaid Allen Dover on the Scarborough marshes near Black Point. Dover reserved his fire, and, being the better shot, dropped one of the party. The other two left Dover to his own devices after that, who made his way back to the garrison.

Over at Pemaquid lived John McFarland. His cabin was somewhat remote from the settlement. On the morning of August 16 a party of savages came upon him and his son unawares. They left

the two scalped and half dead, burned his house, and killed his cattle, as well destroying his crops. This was the last raid for the year 1746 east of Saco.

At this last place the savages made their appearance early in the morning of September 6. Two sons of Joseph Gordon worked at Cole's mill. They had early started for the mill, but had not gone far before they discovered some savages emerging from the bushes in the edge of the road. They turned and ran. As young Joseph seemed likely to get away, they shot him. The other, Pike, was overtaken and captured a little further on, to afterward be taken to Canada. The first gun aroused the settlers, and a posse was at once sent down the road to hunt the savages down; but they hid with their captive in a thick swamp beside the road, and lay there through the day, while the soldiers were tramping through the woods all about them in their vain search for what lay concealed only a few yards away. Great numbers of dogs were kept by the settlers, but these Saco huntsmen seem to have left them at home, else they would have come upon the savages without difficulty.

In New Hampshire the settlers were harassed through the years 1745 and 1746 to a much greater degree than those east of Wells, which seems to have escaped the ravages of the Indians until 1747.

The savages in their raids along the New Hampshire frontier were especially vindictive. They injured the crops and prevented the tilling of the

lands. They butchered the cattle, cutting out their tongues, which they smoked and preserved for food. In fact, they were so numerous that the cows often went unmilked. They broke down fences, and seemed to delight in every way and upon every opportunity to show their malicious hatred.

On the Connecticut River there were at this time six frontier settlements. On the Merrimac there were as many more. On the Piscataqua there were three townships.[1] In most of these, forts were maintained at the public charge, while many of the houses of these settlements were enclosed with palisades. No one went abroad without a musket, and even then, with the thick woods crowding the trails and the limited clearings, they were not safe; and so the exploits and the butcheries multiplied from day to day, until the recital would seem to grow monotonous were it not for the fact that they comprise the greater part of the vital statistics of those days, when only the uncommon event was recorded in tradition and fireside tale.

The first appearance (1745) on the New Hampshire frontier was at Great Meadows, some sixteen miles above Fort Dummer (Hinsdale). William Phips was out hoeing his corn. Two savages came upon him, and, taking him captive, they led him

[1]Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 287.

into the woods for some little distance, when one of the savages made a diversion down a declivity to get something he had secreted, leaving Phips alone with the other Indian. Evidently the savages did not regard Phips's hoe as a weapon of offence; and, as they had not deprived him of it, the settler, with a single swing of his clumsy tool, knocked over the savage who was with him, and, seizing the Indian's gun, shot the other as he was climbing the rocks to join his companion. His exploit, however, cost him his life; as he had not gone far before he met three other savages, who killed him.

The same week Josiah Fisher, of Upper Ashuelot (Keene), met the same fate. These events happened in July, 1745. In October twelve savages came upon the fort at Great Meadows. Not far from the fort Nehemiah How was cutting wood. The savages surprised and captured him. The fort, at once taking the alarm, shot one Indian over the top of the fort palisade; but no effort was made to rescue How.

As they were leaving the vicinity they came upon a canoe coming down the stream. In it were two men. One, David Rugg, was killed. The other, Robert Baker, made his way to the further bank of the stream and got into the woods, out of their reach. A little farther on were three other settlers, who, hearing the guns, took the alarm, and, by hiding and creeping under the edge of the river-bank, got to the fort safely. One of these was Caleb

How,[1] the son of the settler captured hardly an hour before. When the savages came along the trail as far as Number-Four (Charleston) they compelled How to write his name on a bit of birch-bark. They left it there (for what purpose it is difficult to imagine). Seven days on the trail through the wilderness, they came out upon a lake where they found five canoes laden with a store of pork, corn, and tobacco. Embarking in these canoes, they paddled to the fort at Crown Point, Rugg's scalp elevated on a pole as a trophy. From Crown Point, How was taken to Quebec. He died in prison.[2]

The following spring (April 19, 1746) the Indians made a raid on Number-Four, where Stephen Farnsworth, John Spafford, and Isaac Parker were driving a team.[3] Their neighbors found the dead

[1]Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 540.

Ibid, p. 541. This historian says: "This (1746) was a disastrous year all along our frontiers. . . . During the spring and summer skulking parties of the enemy killed, wounded or captured sixteen persons at No. 4; at Northfield and on the Ashuelot above ten; at Vernon, four."

On May 9 an ineffectual attempt to surprise Sheldon's fort was made. A settler was shot at Colrain the following day; his wife and daughter were wounded, but escaped. David Morrison was captured almost under the shadows of Morrison's fort, July 28.

[2]How's *Narrative*.

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 288.

[3]Charleston (No. 4) was settled by the three brothers from

cattle with their tongues cut out, but the men had disappeared. Sometime after, these three returned to Boston under a flag of truce.

About a week later fifty savages entertaining a plan to surprise the fort at Upper Ashuelot came into the neighborhood. They went into hiding in an adjacent swamp at sundown. It was their plan to keep to their covert until the men had left the fort to go to their work the following morning. The fort being then unprotected, they could easily capture it. But Ephraim Dorman was out at dawn, and, coming upon the savages, gave the alarm. He was attacked, but beat off two savages and, getting the gun and blanket of one of them, he escaped to the fort. John Bullard and the wife of Daniel McKenny were killed. One Nathan Blake was captured and taken to Canada. He regained his freedom two years later. On this raid some of the houses and barns of the settlers were burned. Belknap says that in the ashes of one of them human bones were found, which he thinks were the remnants of cremated savages who may have died of the wounds received in some affray with the whites.[1]

Groton in 1740. The attack on this place was made May 2, 1746. Samuel Farnsworth was killed. On the preceding nineteenth of April, Stephen Farnsworth had been captured.

Green, *Sketch of Groton.*

[1] Doolittle's *Memoirs.*

Sumner's *MS. Letter.*

Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 541.

In April or May of this year some savages came into New Hampshire. They came upon a garrison where all of the inmates were asleep. The door had been carelessly left open by one who had started out after game. Here they captured eight.[1]

All along the frontiers the settlements were beset by small parties of Indians. They were everywhere, as on May 2, in Number-Four, where the women went out to milk the cows under a guard of several soldiers in charge of Major Willard.[2] The savages, who had taken possession of a barn, fired on the guard. Seth Putnam was killed; and as they were cutting his scalp from his head Willard and two of his men opened fire on their savage assailants, by which two of the Indians were badly wounded and were carried off by others of their party.[3]

[1] How's *Narrative.*

Norton's *Narrative.*

Boston, *Post-Boy.*

Collections of Farmer and Moore, for 1822, vol. i., pp. 284-287.

[2] Of Fort Dummer, afterwards Colonel Willard. He was probably the same who was one of the first settlers of Winchester, and one to whom the charter of that town was granted, in 1753. He was son or grandson of Capt. Simon Willard, of Salem, whose father was Major Simon Willard, a prominent citizen of Concord.

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 289, note.

[3] Doolittle's *Narrative.*

For the savageries inflicted upon the Connecticut Val-

Skulking about Contoocook (Boscawen), the savages came upon five settlers and a negro. The latter and a white man by the name of Elisha Cook were killed. Thomas Jones was taken to Canada, and died there.[1]

At Lower Ashuelot (Swanzey) Timothy Brown and Robert Moffat were captured and taken to Canada. At this time another party of savages was hovering in the vicinity of the fort at Upper Ashuelot, hoping by some ruse to get into the place. One of their number knocked on the fort gate after dark; but the watch fired at random through the barrier and, by a stroke of happen, gave the midnight intruder a deadly wound.[2]

News of these persistent efforts on the part of the Indians to continually harass and endanger the lives of the settlers compelled the attention of the Provincial authorities, and reënforcements were despatched by Massachusetts to various points for their relief. Number-Four was strengthened by a troop under Captain Paine. Having a curiosity to see the spot where Putnam was killed, Captain Paine and twenty of his men went thither, and fell

ley settlers, *vide* Sheldon's account of "The Old French War."

History of Deerfield, vol. i., pp. 529-553.

[1] May 4, 1746.

Norton's *Narrative.*

Price's *History of Boscawen.*

[2] Doolittle's *Narrative.*

into an ambush. As the savages fired on the party they endeavored to cut off the retreat of the latter. Captain Phineas Stevens went to their relief with a party of soldiers, and a brisk fight was engaged in, in which the loss on each side was five men. One soldier was taken captive. The savages, however, decamped in so great haste that they left some of their guns and blankets.[1] This was on May 24, 1746.

June 19, following, another fight transpired at the same place. Captains Brown and Stevens were going in search of their horses that had strayed into a near-by meadow. They took their dogs along with them. Their noses being keener than those of their masters, they gave the alarm by their sharp barking, so the white men were able to so dispose of themselves as to open fire on the savages first.[2] Stevens and Brown were plucky, and, holding their ground and firing deliberately, drove the savages into a swamp, taking their dead along with them. There must have been other soldiers with the officers, as Belknap says of Stevens' and Brown's party, "one man only was lost." The plunder taken by the English in this encounter was "sold for forty pounds, old tenor."

[1] Doolittle's *Narrative*.

The names of the English killed were Samuel Farnsworth, Joseph Allen, Peter Perrin, Aaron Lyon, and Joseph Massey. Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 290, note.

[2] Doolittle's *Narrative*.

Six days later, two men, William Robbins and James Baker, were killed in a meadow at Bridgeman's fort, near Fort Dummer. Daniel How and John Beaman were captured.

In those days people often had to go long distances to get their corn ground. It was often a day's journey over a woodland trail, either on horseback, or the settler carried his bag of grist on his back — mostly the latter. Where the mills were too far away a tree-butt was hollowed into the shape of a rude mortar, and the corn was pounded into a coarse meal with a sweep, to one end of which was attached a heavy pestle. These were known as samp-mills, but where a grist-mill could be reached it was to these the settler took his corn to be ground. There was such a mill at Hinsdale, and bread was always a necessity. It was necessary for safety that several of the settlers went together when the meal in the chest got low; and generally they took a guard along in addition.

Such a party set out for the Hinsdale mill, under the convoy of Colonel Willard and some of his men. Before they went into the mill they made a search of the woods that bordered the stream, to rout out a party of savages who lay close by in ambush. The savages fled, leaving their packs behind them.

In August, the savages who had so long infested Number-Four were again in evidence. They came upon a man by the name of Phillips, and killed him close by the fort. Some of the garrison went out to

get the body of the unfortunate man. As they were taking him into the fort the savages opened fire, but without effect. They burned some buildings near the fort, and killed some cattle, after which they disappeared in the direction of Winchester, where they hid themselves beside the road. One Joseph Rawson, happening along, fell into the ambush and was shot. So far, it was only the upper frontier towns that had been ravaged.

The Indians, in June, made a raid on Rochester, twenty miles from Portsmouth. Belknap says: "Five men were working in a field, having their arms at hand. The Indians concealed themselves. One of them fired, with a view to induce the men to discharge their pieces, which they did. The enemy then rushed upon them before they could load again. They retreated to a small, deserted house and fastened the door. The Indians tore off the roof, and with their guns and tomahawks despatched Joseph Heard, Joseph Richards, John Wentworth and Gershom Downs. They wounded and took John Richards; and then, crossing over to another road, came upon some men who were at work in a field, all of whom escaped; but they took Jonathan Door, a boy, as he was sitting on a fence."[1]

On August 6 the savages were in Rochester

[1]Haven's *MS. Letter.*
Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 291.

again. This time their appearance was the occasion of the singular death of a sentinel.[1] At Contoocook two men were captured. At Pennacook (Concord) a party of Indians planned to ambush the settlers on their way home from church; but, seeing the settlers, to a man, carrying their guns, they kept to their ambush, and the next morning they were more successful, for they killed five of the Pennacook settlers and captured two.[2]

It was the latter part of August of this year the savages fell upon East Hoosac (Adams). Here was Fort Massachusetts.

[1]This man was Moses Roberts. He was not killed by the Indians, as may be inferred in the text. He had been stationed as a sentinel, and, having become alarmed, retreated from his post into the woods, when another sentinel, hearing a noise in the bushes and seeing them wave, supposed the Indians were approaching, fired his gun, and shot Roberts, who died the next morning, blaming himself and justifying the man who shot him.

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 291, note.

[2]These men were killed and captured on the road leading from Concord to Hopkinton, within about a mile of the seat of Judge Green. There is a full account of the massacre in Moore's *Annals of Concord*, pp. 23-25, and in the *Collections of the N. H. Hist. Soc.*, vol. i., pp. 171-173. Near the scene of the destruction a descendant of one of the victims of Indian cruelty caused a durable monument to be erected, on which is the following inscription:

"This Monument is erected in Memory of Samuel Bradley, Jonathan Bradley, Obadiah Peters, John

Rigaud de Vaudreuil left Montreal August 3. In his train were sixty French and a considerable party of Indians. Their objective-point was the English post of Fort Frederic at Crown Point. On August 20 they had passed the afterward site of Fort Ticonderoga. At East Bay thirty men were left to guard the canoes. The larger portion of the company, some seven hundred,— of whom five hundred were French, the rest being made up of Abenake and Caughnawagas,— struck into the wilderness, skirting the southerly trend of Skene Mountain on their way to East Hoosac. Four days later they were opposite Saratoga, an English frontier post. Avoiding Saratoga, two days later (August 28) they made the Hoosac River. Here they came upon a comfortable road that led up stream. Parkman says there were two roads, one on each side of the stream; for the French dividing their

Bean and John Lufkin, who were massacred August 11th, 1746, by the Indians near this spot. Erected by Richard Bradley, son of the late Hon. John Bradley and grandson of Samuel Bradley."

The names of those who were taken were Alexander Roberts and William Stickney. Roberts returned from captivity; but Stickney was drowned when he was within about one day's journey of the white settlements. The loss sustained by the Indians was four killed and several wounded, two of them mortally. On November 10, following, the Indians killed a Mr. Estabrook on the road between the principal settlement and the place of the former massacre.

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 291, note.

forces, one division took one side of the river, while the other followed the opposite bank up. Sieur de la Valterie was in command of one division, while Sieur de Sabrevois led the other. On their way to Hoosac they camped in the valley of Williamstown, where they were joined by Beaubassin and La Force, who had been out with a scouting-party to get the situation well in hand before the main body came up for the attack. Beaubassin reported the garrison as quiet and unsuspicious of the danger that was lurking among the Hoosac woods.

The next day the French and their savage allies had crept still nearer the fort. Though the day's advance had been only ten miles, they were within an hour's march of the English. The plan was to make the assault just before daybreak. The nearer the savages got to their hoped-for prey the more unrestrained were their passions for immediate carnage, and Rigaud's well-laid plans of a surprise had vanished once his young Canadian and Abenake bucks came in sight of the palisades of Fort Massachusetts.

It was at that moment, when their eager vision had broken the rim of the wilderness foliage, that the leash that had so far held these red wolves of the woods slipped through the fingers of Rigaud, and the horde of savages, with wild whoops and futile musket-shots, apprised the garrison of its imminent danger.

Here was a structure built after the fashion of

the time, except that for the palisade was a log-piled rampart, the foundation of which was a stone wall. The northwest angle of the fort was protected by a blockhouse which had a watch-tower that served the purpose of a lookout and, as well, a vantage-point from which the roof might be wet down, should the savages be successful in lodging their fire-laden arrows upon it. Within the fort area was a log house, that stood well down the south side, which was of ample dimensions. There were some smaller buildings in the enclosure, while the water-supply, drawn from a well, was under the shadows of the eastern wall. At this time there were but twenty-two men in the fort, fully one half of whom were suffering from illness.[1] Sergeant John Hawks, of Deerfield, was in command. A few days before, Surgeon Thomas Williams had been despatched to Deerfield for a supply of ammunition, and Rigaud's little "army" had invested Fort Massachusetts before they could return.

Over the rough clearing bristling with the blackened stumps of the huge trees whose trunks had been hewn into the timbers for the fort walls the

[1] "Lord's day and Monday . . . the sickness was very distressing. . . . Eleven of our men were sick, and scarcely one of us in perfect health; almost every man was troubled with the griping and flux."

Norton, *The Redeemed Captive.*

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. ii., p. 242, note.

Indians scattered themselves. On one side was the Hoosac. On the other, Saddleback Mountain, from the slopes of which, one of the fort party afterward related, "The enemy could shoot over the north side into the middle of the parade." In the fort with Hawks and his twenty-two men were three women and five children.

There was no fighting-man of those days of better mettle than John Hawks,[1] and the odds against him were thirty to one, with only a wall of logs between the savages and those under him in the garrison. Had Rigaud's plan of a midnight escalade been adhered to the work would have been over in a moment; but the savagery of his allies had changed all that. Instead, the assault was carried on with noisy whoops and desultory musket-shots, and swift scurryings from stump to stump to draw the fire and exhaust the energies of the besieged English, with whom the supply of ammunition had become so depleted that Hawks directed his men to fire only that the savages might be kept behind their stumps.

When night came the assailants set a cordon of sentinels to prevent Hawks sending any one to the Albany or Deerfield settlement for aid. The obscurity of the night was impenetrable. Those in the fort heard the noise of axes. The Indians were gathering from the debris of the clearing the sum-

[1] *Vide* Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 542.

mer-dried fuel, which they were to heap against the fort wall, after which the torch would be applied. Those in the fort spent the night drawing water for the extinguishing of the blaze once it was started; but the rain came, and the water was not needed.

In the morning two men went into the watch-tower. One of them, Thomas Knowlton, was shot. This left the sergeant and six men to carry on the defence of the fort against seven hundred of the enemy. About midday there was a "parley." Hawks met Rigaud outside the fort in response to a flag of truce sent in by the latter. Rigaud promised "good quarter." Hawks asked for two hours to consider. He had three or four pounds of gunpowder and about the same quantity of lead, which meant about sixty rounds of the latter. The chaplain of the fort made the surrender the subject of earnest prayer, after which Hawks and his men went into a council of war. The fate of the three women and five children was the hinge upon which their decision was to turn. For almost two days they had looked the inevitable in the face; and Hawks being agreeable to his word, the two hours having expired, the French officers entered the fort and the French flag was run up, while Rigaud's savages, as uncontrollable as ever, having undermined the fort wall and made a breach, in a short time had possessed themselves of the fort area. They dragged Knowlton's body from the watch-

tower, and, after scalping it, they cut off the head and otherwise mutilated the body. Then the fort was destroyed. It had been stipulated as a condition of surrender that none of the prisoners should be given into the hands of the savages, and the French kept their word with their usual integrity, by retaining Hawks, Chaplain Norton, and the women and children, while the soldiers were given over to the savages.

Parkman is inclined to let Rigaud off with the comment that the French commander was mostly in fault for making a promise to Hawks that he could not fulfil.[1]

From one of the prisoners Rigaud had learned that the men were expected back from Deerfield. Sixty savages were detached to cut off the returning nineteen English, fifteen of whom were shot from an ambush and the remainder of whom were captured.[2]

The savages kept on as far as Deerfield, where they made an assault on some of the settlers as they went to their work the following Monday morning. The savages were hidden in some bushes

[1] For a full account of the capture of Fort Massachusetts, *vide* Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. ii., pp. 230-249.

Trumbull's *History of Northampton*, vol. ii., pp. 147-149.

[2] One French account says that the Indians failed to meet the English party.

New York Col. Docs., vol. x., p. 35.

Sheldon (*History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 543) gives the

along the meadow-edge where the men were haying. With them were some children. Ebenezer Hawks, who was gunning for grouse, stumbled upon the hidden savages, who at once killed and scalped him. Those in the meadow ran for a mill near-by, and after them came fifty howling savages, who overtook and scalped a boy. Three settlers took refuge under the river-bank to open fire on their pursuers. Two of the settlers, Allen and Gillet, were killed; Sadler escaped to an island. Of Allen's three children who were in the meadow, Eunice was stunned by a blow from a tomahawk. The savages left her to be scalped later, so she got away safely. Another of the Allen children, Samuel, was captured; the other, Caleb, darted into a field of stout corn and got away, like a quail running in the stubble.

The Deerfield settlement was aroused by the guns, and Lieutenant Clesson, with his men, came upon the scene, but too late. The savages had disappeared in such haste that, contrary to their usual custom, they left two of their dead behind.[1]

Before Rigaud left the ruins of Fort Massachu-

number of the English as fourteen. He gives the names of the twenty-one men that made up Hawks's command in the fort.

[1] This is known as "The Bars Fight." It occurred at Stebbins's meadow on a Monday morning (August 25).

Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., pp. 545-549.

Vide Doolittle.

setts[1] Norton was allowed to nail to one of the "charred posts a note to tell what had happened to him and his companions."[2]

On the journey to Canada the chaplain writes

[1]It was in the autumn of this year (1747) that a second attack upon Fort Massachusetts was most fortunately averted, when a force of six hundred French and Indians were despatched from Fort Frederick against this frontier defence, which was being rebuilt by Col. William Williams. The latter was warned as the enemy were silently creeping upon the English to surprise them at their work. The English opened the fight with a sortie from the fort, and after a few shots the savages drew off.

Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 551.

Vide ibid, p. 563, *post*. Capt. Ephraim Williams's *Letter* from Fort Massachusetts, to Maj. Israel Williams.

[2]*Journal of Sergeant Hawks*, cited by William L. Stone, *Life and Times of Sir William Johnson*, vol. i., p. 227.

What seems conclusive is that the French permitted Norton to nail to a post of the fort a short account of its capture, in which it is plainly stated that the first advances were made by Rigaud.

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. ii., p. 248, note.

The note was as follows: "August 20 (31, new style), 1746. These are to inform you that yesterday, about 9 of the clock, we were besieged by, as they say, seven hundred French and Indians. They have wounded two men and killed one Knowlton. The General de Vaudreuil desired capitulations, and we were so distressed that we complied with his terms. We are the French's prisoners, and have it under the general's hand that every man, woman and child shall be exchanged for French prisoners."

Ibid, p. 251, note.

that John Smead's wife was taken ill. "Some of them made a seat for her to sit upon and brought her to the camp, where, about ten o'clock, she was graciously delivered of a daughter and was remarkably well. . . . Friday; This morning I baptized Smead's child. He called its name *Captivity*."[1] Rudely shaped as were their lives, these English borderers were unconsciously poets. The name of John Smead's daughter is an epic in a single word.

Norton's narrative puts the humanity of Rigaud in a very handsome light, but his way homeward was strewn with the ashes of the settlers' cabins. The carcasses of their herds were left to rot and fester in their fields under the hot midsummer sun. Everything was laid waste, not only in the direct path of the invaders, but, as well, cross-country on both sides of the Hoosac stream. Fortunately, the Dutch settlers had made a timely escape. Rigaud estimates, no doubt correctly, that "above two hundred establishments," through "twelve leagues of fertile country," were pillaged and burned.[2] For the next two years the savages continued their raids, though the scene of their atrocities was shifted more to the eastward.

The expedition to Canada had taken many of the soldiers on the New Hampshire frontier posts from

[1] Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, pp. 251, 252.

[2] *Journal de Rigaud.*

the defence of those exposed places. Massachusetts had been applied to for aid in defending the settlers from the savages, but, as Belknap says, "thought it inexpedient to be at the charge of defending a territory which was out of their jurisdiction." The troops were withdrawn from the frontier of northwestern New Hampshire, which was followed by the abandonment of their farms and settlements by the settlers. They secreted their meager stock of utensils, or carried it with them, along with such furniture as they were able to transport on the rude conveyances of which they were possessed. That which was too bulky for removal was left in the cabin, for the Indians to appropriate or destroy.

Shattuck's fort was located at Hinsdale. Here were four families who had remained behind. Their neighbors had sought safety in the larger settlements. On March 30 it was attacked by a party of savages, who, unable to reduce the garrison by intimidation, attempted to fire the fort, in which they were unsuccessful.[1]

The fort at Number-Four was garrisoned by six men; but, being without supplies, they left it deserted for some two months, when the Massachusetts province recalled its determination in the matter, not only to resume the support of these frontier garrisons, but to send out scouting-parties

[1] Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 550.

to range the woods in search of the savages as a precautionary measure.

It was at the end of March, 1747, that a scouting-party of thirty men, under the command of Captain Phineas Stevens, made its way through the snow to the fort at Number-Four.[1] It was found as the six men had left it. Captain Stevens at once established his men in the fort. Stevens was of Sudbury, Mass., and a man of courage, intelligence, and determination. A dog and cat left at the fort some two or three months before gave Stevens a cheerful greeting, as anew the great fires roared up the fort chimney; and no doubt these animals took up their dreams by the fire where they had dropped them when the hearth had grown cold. Stevens had brought along more dogs. But no sooner were they settled than the dogs began to bark and howl in an uneasy chorus that gave the men little peace or quiet for several days. These were signs which led Stevens to redouble his vigilance. There was evidently unwelcome company about, which fact was made apparent about April 7, when one of the men, noting that the uneasiness of the dogs increased rather than lessened, determined to dis-

[1] Parkman says they reached the fort March 27.
Half-Century of Conflict, vol. ii., p. 222.
Sheldon gives date of attack as April 7. Sheldon may be considered as the best authority.
Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 551.

cover, if possible, the cause of this canine disturbance.

About mid-forenoon he left the fort gate to cross the clearing. There were huge stumps here and there, and over the ground were the trunks of the trees where the settlers had left them, not one of which but offered a most excellent covert for a lurking savage. The soldier took along two or three of Stevens's dogs, which, as it turned, was a wise precaution. He worked his way along slowly, scrutinizing, like the Indian-fighter he may have been, every place that might conceal some sudden peril. A long gunshot from the gate of the fort a huge log lay across his path. The dogs were running about and sniffing, giving tongue to low growls. At the log they lifted their noses higher. The soldier urged them forward, when, much to his surprise, he discovered the heads of several savages raised above the log. For a moment the Indians peered at him, and then there were as many gunshots as there were heads. The soldier got back to the fort, but not without a bullet-puncture, which, however, was not serious.

Hardly had he passed the fort gate than a hail of lead pattered against the fort walls, and slender wreathings of musket-smoke hung along the brush in the edge of the woodland that encircled the fort like the rim of a huge bowl. Up-wind was a deserted log cabin. This they fired. A stiff wind was blowing, and the fire caught in the underbrush and

dead grass, that burned furiously, so that the fort was in great danger, surrounded as it was by the fire that went racing over the ground, to lap the walls of the fort with hungry flame and a smother of dense smoke.

But Stevens was vigilant; and while some of his men were bringing water to quench the conflagration, others were keeping the savages in check with their guns, which, in the hands of these men, were especially effective. Trenches were dug under the inner walls of the fort, through which the men crawled to the outside, where they drenched the outer walls with the water passed to them by those within. Those were strenuous moments, but the fort was saved by the men in the trenches.[1]

On the stream close by was a sawmill. Their first attempt to fire the fort was a failure. They had riddled the walls with bullets for two days without effect. Here at the sawmill were piles of edgings, and heaping a rude cart they had con-

[1]Stevens to Colonel W. Williams, April, 1747: "Those who were not employed in firing at the enemy were employed in digging trenches under the bottom of the fort. We dug no less than eleven of them, so deep that a man could go and stand upright on the outside and not endanger himself; so that when these trenches were finished, we could wet all the outside of the fort, which we did, and kept it wet all night. We drew some hundreds of barrels of water; and to undergo all this hard service there were but thirty men."

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. ii., p. 224, note.

structed with some old wheels the settlers had left behind, they pushed it up to the fort, and then they made a demand on Stevens that a truce be entered into until the following morning at sunrise. At sunrise Debeline[1] came to the fort with fifty men and a flag of truce which he stuck upright in the ground. He then asked for a "parley." Stevens consented to that. One of the French officers, with an Indian, advanced to the fort gate and suggested that Stevens and his men gather such food-stores as they thought necessary to last them upon their journey to Montreal, whither he desired them to go with him. It was a polite demand for a surrender; but that not being to the taste of Captain Stevens, he made another suggestion that he meet the commander of the attacking forces and that he give to the latter a definite answer as to what he proposed to do. Stevens met the chief officer in command of the French and Indians, who, without giving Stevens time to express his views upon the matter, began to storm and threaten that he would proceed at once to carry the fort and

[1]The name of M. Debeline occurs in the accounts of this fight. The assaulting-party was, however, under the command of Jean Baptiste Boucher de Niverville.

Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 551.

For a detail of incidents happening during this war, sometimes called King George's, up and down the Connecticut River, *vide* Trumbull, *History of Northampton*, vol. ii., pp. 157-163.

put every man to the sword if Stevens did not at once accede to his terms. The latter gently informed the Frenchman, who was inclined to carry the interview with a high hand, that he could not give up the fort until every means for its defence had been exhausted; that the fort had been entrusted to his keeping, and that he should endeavor to defend it until the Frenchman could make good his threat.

Still the Frenchman stormed; but Stevens suggested it was a "poor encouragement to surrender, if they were all to be put to the sword for killing one man when it was probable they had killed many more." The Frenchman challenged him: "Go and see if your men dare to fight any longer, and give me quick answer."

Stevens went into the fort and shut the gate. Then he asked his men if they would continue the fight, or surrender. Stevens says: "They voted to a man to stand it out; and also declared they would fight as long as they had life."[1]

The answer of the men was quickly reported to Niverville, and the Indians again began their whooping and their firing, which lasted through that day and night. On the morning of the following day another temporary cessation of hostilities was requested by the French, when two savages came in with a flag and proposed that Stevens sell

[1]Stevens to Colonel William Williams, April, 1747.

them some provisions; that if he would do so they would leave him in peace.

This he refused peremptorily; but he told them he would give them five bushels of corn for every captive for whom they would give a hostage until the captives could be brought from Canada. After this, the assailants made some desultory attempts on the fort with their guns; and then they disappeared, as they had come.[1]

Evidently the enemy were in serious straits for food; but in the fort only two men had received wounds, and none were killed. It was a brave defence. A runner was at once sent to Boston with the news of the attack and their good fortune. The men wounded were John Brown and Joseph Ely.[2]

After this the settlers were harassed by small par-

[1] Stevens's *Letter*, in *Boston Evening Post*, April 27.

[2] Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, pp. 292-294.

Just after the withdrawal of the French and Indians, Stevens wrote two letters giving an account of the affair,—one to Governor Shirley, and the other to Colonel William Williams, who seems to have been his immediate military superior. At most points they are substantially the same; but that to Williams contains some passages not found in the other. The letter to Shirley is printed in Saunderson, *History of Charlestown, N. H.*, pp. 34–37; and that to Williams in *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, vol. iv., pp. 109-113. Stevens also kept a diary, which was long in possession of his descendants. One of these, Mr. B. F. Stevens, kindly made a search for it, at my request [Parkman's], and learned that it had been unfortunately destroyed

ties of savages. One of the latter was shot by Sergeant Philips near the fort. Though closely pursued by the savages, Philips escaped.

The savages appeared at Rochester, where some men were at work in a field. They went into ambush; but three boys — John and George Place and Paul Jemens — came upon their place of hiding. The savages fired at the boys, and their fire was courageously returned by John Place, who made a good shot and wounded one of his assailants. Jemens held his fire, and with his gun pointed at the savages kept them at bay until the men at work in the field had got their guns, and upon coming up with the boys they drove the savages from the vicinity.[1]

On this incursion along the New Hampshire frontier the savages burned five abandoned garrison-houses or forts, about one hundred houses and barns, three meeting-houses, and some thirty or forty cattle, together with some five or six hundred

by fire, in 1856. Doolittle, in his *Narrative of Mischief*, and Hoyt, in his *Antiquarian Researches*, give other accounts. The French notices of the affair are few and short, as usual in cases of failure. For the principal one, see *New York Col. Docs.*, vol. x., p. 97. It is here said that Stevens asked for a parley, in order to capitulate; but all the English accounts say that the French made the first advances.

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. ii., pp. 228, 229, note.

[1]June 7, Haven's *MS. Letters.*

sheep and swine, in a distance of "thirty or forty leagues."[1]

At Pennacook, this same season, the settlers were warned by the savages firing upon some cattle. They made up a party of fifty men and set out after the marauders, coming upon them with such surprising quickness that the savages decamped, leaving their packs and blankets behind them. In the skirmish that took place at this time one man had an arm broken.[2] A man who had just returned from Cape Breton was killed shortly after at this place.[3]

At Suncook the savages killed another man. At Nottingham, Robert Beard, John Folsom, and Elizabeth Simpson were butchered.[4]

The closing event in New Hampshire for 1747 was the wounding of a Frenchman near Winchester by Major Willard and Captain Alexander. This was followed by the burning of Bridgeman's fort at Hinsdale, where the savages killed several settlers and carried some to Canada. Some of the captives were taken at Number-Four after the snow lay deep on the ground, and the soldiers, having no snow-shoes, were unable to take up the pursuit.

[1] *New York Col. Docs.*, vol. x., p. 97.

[2] July 28, *Boston Evening Post.*

[3] Perhaps a Mr. Estabrook, who was killed at Pennacook on November 10, that year.

Moore, *Annals of Concord*, p. 25.

[4] Upham's *MS. Letter.*

While these atrocities were being committed on the New Hampshire settlers, across the Piscataqua to the eastward the savages were killing and burning wherever opportunity offered.

It was on April 13, 1747, that the savages had hidden themselves in the thick woods about Scottow's Hill, in Scarborough. Their design was to surprise and capture the David Libby garrison. It was to have been a night attack, but their plans were interrupted by one of the garrison, a young man by the name of Nathaniel Dresser. During the morning of the fourteenth Dresser left the garrison to go to his work on the westerly slope of the hill, and, unaware of the proximity of the savages, he had almost walked into their clutches. It was necessary to the accomplishment of their design that they should avoid discovery, and they had permitted him to approach without warning, possibly with a view to capturing him without alarming the garrison. But Dresser had discovered the savages, and at once hurried toward the garrison, with three of them at his heels. Dresser was lithe and agile, and was distancing his pursuers with every leap (Southgate says: "Some of his leaps were afterward measured and found to be *twelve feet*"). He was running for his life, with the odds against him. Looking over his shoulder, he could see that he was leaving them behind, but he must get beyond the range of their muskets. He was at the gate. There were three gunshots.

One of the bullets whistled harmlessly over his head. Another cut off the fingers of his right hand. The third and last passed through his neck and lodged in the knot of his necktie. He fell almost across the threshold of the fort gate. One of his pursuers was so bold that he followed his victim. It was the trick of a moment to scalp the dead man, and with his dripping trophy in his hand he turned to join his companions.

There was but one man in the garrison at that moment, Captain Daniel Harvey. He sent a bullet after the savage and shattered his right arm. This was the end of the venture against the place,[1] and getting together, they went in the direction of Falmouth.

[1]The following letter found amongst the Pepperrell *MSS.* gives an interesting account of the Indian movements in this neighborhood at that time.

"Falmo, April 16th 1747.

"Honod Sir —

I am now to inform you that y^e^ barbarous and cruel sons of violence, on y^e^ 14th inst. killed and scalped Na. Dresser, a young man, within thirty yards of David Libby's house on Scottow's hill in Scarborough. Y^e^ next morning they took a young man and his bror about 1-4 miles below Sacarappy in the road to Stroudwater and carried them off. A scout of what few soldiers were here, with some of our Inhabitants immediately followed, came athwart of Three Camps, and about 1-2 mile above Gorham Town Garrison, where they found some beef and the skins of two cows. The woods seem full of Tracks, and (we) believe there is great numbers round

It was in this same month that an attempt at a surprise was made on the settlement adjacent to the garrison of Sergeant Larrabee. It was prevented, however, by the sagacity of a dog.

In these opening days of spring the settlers were plowing their lands. Maize was the great staple, the staff of the settlers' living. At every repast

us. That night (after) they killed Dresser, they fired two guns by wch we supposed they killed a steer about a mile and a half above us. We are in poor circumstances, having but about 15 or 20 soldiers (to sc) out from Capt. Bean's to N. Yarmouth. Jordan's men, part are down to Topsham, by order, part stationed at N. Yarmouth; (so) that the people cannot pretend without the utmost hazard, to plant or sow, or carry on any other business, especially on y^{e} most out and exposed parts. And unless immediate succor or assistance I cannot perceive how Gorham Town, Marblehead, and Sacarappy can subsist — for they do not care to visit them or carry them necessaries of life unless they have more men. They found in y^{e} above mentioned Camps eighteen spitts or sticks to roast their beef on, wch shows there were in that scout at least 18 Indians. Pray remember us in our distressed circumstances. With dutiful regard I conclude, Honod Sir,

Your Dutiful Kinsman and
very humble Servant
CHAS. FROST."

Hon. Wm. Pepperrell, Baronet —

Southgate, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. iii., p. 171, note.

"1747, April 13. The Indians first were discovered (about eight) and killed a young man, one Dresser at Scarborough."

Smith's *Journal*, p. 127.

corn-meal was served in one form or another, either as samp, hominy, or corn-bread. The plowing and the planting were imperative. Fifteen of the settlers had gathered at the Larrabee garrison. They were to plow the land beside the road above the house. The edge of the woodland was hardly two rods from the land-side furrow. They left their guns at a convenient place near the immediate scene of their labor. Hardly had the plows burrowed in the virgin soil than the dog that kept them company began to run up and down the fringe of bushes, barking, growling, and sniffing by turns. Larrabee cast his eye along the rim of the budding brush, and quickly gave the order to run for the garrison. Looking behind, a considerable number of savages were discovered on the crest of the rolling land, massing on the east side of the road, evidently with the intention of cutting off the retreat of Larrabee and his men. Realizing that the latter would reach the garrison safely, and that there was no possibility of cutting them off, the savages dropped back behind the rise of ground without risking a skirmish with Larrabee,[1] who

[1]An attempt was once made to surprise the Larrabee garrison. So well had this been prepared, and the inmates so effectually secured, that in times of danger it had become the place of general resort. At times nearly all the inhabitants of what is now Kennebunk were gathered within its walls. At a time when the fears of invasion were in some measure allayed, and but few were in the garrison, the Indians planned

was well known to them as a fearless and successful fighter. They swung off to the westward as far as the Biddeford settlement, where they way-

an attack upon it. The opportunity of a dark, stormy night was taken for this purpose. Wawa, the chief, was fully acquainted with every part of the garrison, and how to effect an entrance. Before approaching it, where the quick eye of the sergeant might discover them, he waited for the darkness of night. A cart had been left a few feet from the wall. The Indians, as soon as it was dark, crept up and lay down under it. Here they watched, waiting until all had retired to rest, when they hoped to gain access by climbing the walls. But Sergeant Larrabee was not a man to suffer himself, and others under his care, to be trapped by any stratagem which could be devised by these ignorant savages. Though everywhere in the vicinity quiet prevailed and people were at comparative ease in many of their homes, he was ever on the lookout. This was a very dark night, well suited to Indian warfare, and he was therefore the more careful in his observations. As his eye rested upon the cart, very near the walls, it reported to him a darkness of different shades. He was satisfied that there was something under it not entirely atmospherical. Whatever it was, it had come with the night, and it looked like bipeds. He determined to test its character by the use of his big gun. He loaded it heavily with buckshot, stationed himself in the flanker, and, taking another look to satisfy himself that his suspicions were well grounded, he discharged his faithful gun into the darkness doubly and suspiciously visible under the cart. With the flash of the gun the vision changed, and the area between the wheels was cleared. The next morning revealed the fact that the wary eye of the sergeant had not been deceived; neither was the shot without effect. Blood was found about the cart and in many places near-

laid and killed two men by the name of Elliott,[1] and captured another by the name of Murch.[2]

The Indians were natural cowards. They fought from ambush or shielded themselves behind the log fences along the field-side; from stumps and trees; never for a moment remaining quiet when in the open; trusting to numbers and the terror of their yells and sudden appearance to paralyze their intended victims with fear. Their most courageous moments were just before daybreak, when sleep held their prey powerless for injury. They were brave at braining babes and women, but a man with a gun and a reputation for courage would put a score of savages to their heels. They were assassins by nature. They leaped upon their prey as silently as a wood-cat from an overhead tree-limb drops upon the shoulders of the unsus-

by. When the Indians came in after the war, Wawa himself acknowledged that he received there such an effectual admonition of the danger of any attempt to surprise the garrison that he concluded that it was not worth while to risk it again.

Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, pp. 389, 390.

[1] Williamson gives this account of the killing of the Elliotts. It happened at Saco Falls. Nathaniel Elliott and his son were coming from a field on the west side of the river with a load of hay, April 17 (1747). The savages shot both. Murch was taken to Canada by the way of the White Hills. On this raid they shot three horses, and killed a number of cattle, cutting their tongues out for food.

[2] Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 387.

pecting fawn. They were as subtle as they were treacherous and cruel, and exhibited an almost satanic ingenuity in perpetrating one ruse or another upon the thick-skulled settler. They were as dull-witted under an emergency at times as they were quick at other times.

An instance in point is the story that Bourne relates of John Butland,[1] which illustrates not only the Indian's proverbial cowardice, but his lack of

[1] "Mr. John Butland, one of the dwellers of Larrabee village, and a substantial man in those days, went out at the usual hour after his cows, one of which wore a bell. Generally the cows had been found within a short distance from the house. But at this time they were not at their usual feeding place. The Indians, planning for his capture, had driven them a considerable distance from their accustomed ground. Not knowing that any savages were in the neighborhood, the thought did not occur to him, of any stratagem in this unusual circumstance. He had his gun with him, as was the invariable rule when going out from the house. He continued his pursuit until he heard the bell. He directed his steps to the point from whence the sound seemed to come. Drawing nearer, he thought the bell gave an unusual sound; but he imagined the cow had fallen into some difficulty; and hastened onward to extricate her. But as the ringing was not constant, he passed beyond the place from whence the sound issued. Hearing it again, he turned around, but saw nothing of the cows. He could not account for the mystery. He looked again and again, and though the ringing of the bell continued, he could discover no one of the cows. There was nothing to obstruct his vision, a few bushes only intervening. At last the thought suddenly came over him that the ringing

expedience in this particular case. There would have been infinitely greater loss of life among the settlers had the savage been tinctured with the civilization of the white man; but he was evidently like the wild animals he hunted, a creature no less fearful of injury to himself than he was wary to the point of being ever on the verge of flight from unseen but suspected danger.

In the time of Shirley's War there was more co-

was by a human hand: that the Indians had taken it from his cow, and were thus endeavoring to decoy him to the spot. They had contrived so to delude him as to get between him and his house. He had now no chance to return, and knew not how many were in ambush. The trunk of a very large tree was lying directly before him, the inside of which was so wasted away by age that an ordinary sized man, without serious inconvenience could crowd himself into it. There was no other alternative, as he thought, but to crawl into this log, and accordingly he pressed himself into it, keeping his gun before him. In our judgment such a refuge was the last which a rational man should have sought. How he expected security in such a position we cannot comprehend. The Indians, being five in number, finding that he had settled down out of sight, were very soon by the log, where he had disappeared. Not discovering him anywhere in the vicinity, and no obstruction limiting their view, they were assured he was within the log, but which way his gun pointed they could not tell, and no one dared to look into it or go to either end. They pounded upon it with sticks of wood — tried to turn it over; walked on it from one end to the other. They might, with ease, have thrust in a pole, or fired into it. But their hands would have been exposed to his fire. So fearful were

hesion among the settlers than had prevailed theretofore. They had become more gregarious and less fearful of the savage, from whom they were safe so long as they observed ordinary precautions. Every house was a garrison, and the report of a gun that was not at once accounted for was the signal for an alarm which was passed like a wireless message from garrison to garrison, at which every man afield hurried to his own house to make whatever defence was needed. Three gunshots, three warning toots of the long tin horn that hung against every settler's chimney-jamb, sounded an emergency call; the blast of a horn stood for two things,—fire, and the discovery of prowling savages.

It was during the raid on the Larrabees, and the later capture of Murch, that the same party kept on in the direction of Wells. Richard Walker had gone to Great Falls, where he was working in a sawmill. The savages went to his house, and, surprising his wife, they started off in the direction of the sawmill, taking Mrs. Walker along with

they of wounds that they had not the courage, and so little ingenuity that they had not skill enough to devise any mode of killing him, or expelling him from his hiding place. They knew he could not escape from them. They were working upon the log and endeavoring to stave it in, when Mr. Butland's family, knowing that he had gone far beyond the usual time, fired the alarm guns (three in immediate succession). Upon this, the Indians immediately ran, leaving Butland unharmed."

Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, pp. 387, 388.

them. Their intention was to capture Walker when he was far enough away from his gun so that he could not reclaim it in time to use it upon his assailants. Their plan was frustrated by their not finding him about the mill, to which they set fire, after which they took the road to Taylor's Hill (Lyman). Here Mrs. Walker refused to go one step farther. She preferred death to a savage captivity; so they tied her to an oak-tree, after which they butchered her, taking her scalp away as a trophy.

On April 21, this year, fifty savages were lurking in the woods about Falmouth.[1] Here they attacked the Foster garrison. Foster was killed. His wife and six children were captured.[2] Falmouth was at this time infested with Indians. From Purpooduck across Casco River to North Yarmouth,

[1] "(April) 19, (1747) Sunday. Very thin meeting; people fearing to come, partly by reason of what the Indians have done and partly they having sometime resolved to keep at home. This being the fatal day, as people universally looked upon it, on which the Indians first do mischief, and on which they did it last year, but none was done now."

Smith's *Journal*, p. 128.

[2] Williamson gives the name as "Frost." Parson Smith says "Foster" (probably a misprint).

"(April) 21, (1747). The Indians to-day (about ten) killed Mr. Foster and carried away his wife and six children. They killed several cattle. Our folks pursued them; they say there were fifty."

Ibid.

and eastward toward Brunswick, the settlers were harassed by unseen perils and a constantly impending danger of death or capture at the hands of the savages.[1]

At New Meadows five savages killed two women. The vicinity of Pemaquid was invaded by a force of one hundred French and Indians, who made an attack on that place. The fight was a spirited one that was maintained two hours. The Indians were beaten off, but the settlers lost ten men killed and three taken prisoners. In Damariscotta a house was attacked about the same time. It was a sort of guerilla warfare, as the settlers were attacked at points widely separate, with an interval of only a day or two between.

It was in the midsummer of the year, when the woods up and down the Presumpscot River were haunted by predatory bands of savages, that the settlers of Gorhamtown were to be harassed until every quivering leaf of the wayside bushes was the ominous herald of the dreaded enemy. Much damage had already been done to the crops in the fields and the herds in the pastures. It was early

[1] "(April) 23, (1747). A scout of men are now out from North Yarmouth, another going out from Purpoodock. We are in the most distressed circumstances. Swarms of Indians being about the frontier, and no soldiers save Captain Jordan's Company of fifty men, thirty of whom have been for some time at Topsham, guarding the government timber."

Smith's *Journal*, pp. 128, 129.

this summer when Edmund Phinney, after his cows, was attacked "in plain sight of the fort." The gunshot was the signal that called the attention of the garrison to Phinney's danger. The latter's brother-in-law, Watson, with two others, by the names of Hodgedon and Harvey, at once started out to aid Phinney in his effort to escape. They met him on the dead run for the fort, while the savages, discovering the three men from the fort, stopped short in their pursuit. One of them began to gesticulate somewhat indecently, when one of the fort party, to teach him a better code of courtesy, sent a bullet after the man of paint and feathers, with so good bead that the fellow died of his wounds before he could reach Canada.

These Indians were apparently well acquainted with the purlieus of Gorhamtown, but they had evidently left the vicinity; for, on the following day, with Hugh McLellan and Eliphalet Watson, Phinney walked to Falmouth, where the latter had "his arm set and wounds dressed by Dr. Coffin." They made the journey both ways without meeting any of the savages.

During the Indian troubles the fort was the dwelling-place of most of the inhabitants of this place for some seven years. When the snow lay deep on the ground some would go to their cabins, and the smokes would spin away from their cabin chimneys until the latter March days came, when they all became members of one great family,

working and living for the common safety of the community. They were lean days, and often the settlers were driven to such straits that they were forced to eat the seed they had saved for the next year's planting. Oftentimes the procuring of food was at the risk of human life, when behind every tree might lurk an Indian with his murderous gun or axe; so they were compelled to feel out the trail to Falmouth in the obscurity of the night when the necessaries of life were urgent. Sometimes the women were sent to Falmouth on horseback over the almost invisible trail, going one night and perhaps returning the next, after a little meal for their cakes and porridge.[1]

[1] One of the families was nearly destitute of bread, or the wherewith to make it. With children sick, and nothing with which to make them a mouthful of suitable food, something must be done, and that quickly. As soon as it became dark the wife mounted her horse, and was quietly led out of the stockade, courageously beginning her journey. Through the dark forest she pursued her way toward Falmouth, where she arrived about daylight the next morning, tarrying with her friend (her husband's sister), till afternoon. She purchased half a bushel of Indian corn, expending all the money the family possessed, even to the last penny. With the corn she started homeward; arriving at the mill at Capisic, she had it ground into meal, and she was often heard to say in praise of the miller that he, knowing the sufferings of the settlers in Gorham, refused to take toll for the grinding. She remained at the mill till dark, and then started again for home, where she arrived before light in the morning.

McLellan, *History of Gorham*, pp. 59, 60.

In the latter part of August of this year twenty-five or thirty savages crossed the upper edge of Gorhamtown into New Marblehead (Windham). Their design was to make every settler in that section captive. They surprised William Bolton and a Mayberry boy. Bolton was captured, but the boy took to his heels, carrying along with him an Indian bullet. He escaped, however. His descendants still tell the story of his Marathon-like race and fortunate escape.[1] The guns of the savages as they tried to stop the boy warned the others, and the Indians were obliged to be content with Bolton.

About the first of September sixty Indians and French appeared before Fort Frederic (Pemaquid) at daybreak. In the garrison the force was less than one half the number of the assailants, whose intention was to take the place by surprise; but a picket of five men coming in their way, the savages shot them, to a man. Then they advanced on the fort and the fight began. The fort was built mostly of stone, and the assailants made little impression and were finally repulsed, but with what loss the record does not state.[2]

[1] "(August) 27, (1747). The Indians took Wm. Bolton and wounded a lad of Mr. Mayberry's, at Marblehead [now Windham]. There appeared to be twenty-seven French and Indians."

Smith's *Journal*, p. 130.

[2] "(September) 3, (1747). We have an express that Wednes-

It was possibly the same party that made an attempt to mine the St. Georges fort. They began at the river-bank some ten rods away; but the rain came, and the dirt caved in as fast as they could shovel it out, and the scheme was abandoned.[1]

These operations on the part of the savages were brought to an end by the early approach of winter, which became notable as having been a season of the utmost severity. The people were hard put for food. Corn was worth thirty shillings per bushel; flour, ten pounds per hundred. The snow was deep, and in the four or five public garrisons and twenty-five blockhouses, covering an area of fifteen or twenty towns, there were only three hundred men in service.

The attention of the Provincial authorities was

day last in the morning, the French and Indians, about fifty, killed three men and wounded two, at Pemaquid; after which they attacked the fort for two hours."

Smith's *Journal*, p. 131.

[1]For an account of the killing of Seth Hinkley at New Meadows, May 5 of this year, and another murderous attack upon a canoe in the narrows below Cow Island, four days later, in which three men were killed or wounded, *vide* Wheeler, *History of Brunswick*, pp. 60, 61; McKeen, *MS. Lectures;* Smith, *Journal*, April 23, 1747; *Massachusetts Records*, vol. 73, pp. 163, 164.

As to the raid on Topsham, August 19, 1747, when four men were killed and scalped in a corn-field, *vide Historical Magazine*, vols. 9 and 10; *New York Gazette*, September 14, 1747; Wheeler's *Brunswick*, p. 61.

enlisted, and a vigorous campaign was to be inaugurated against the savages. They had practically laid waste the fields of the settlers. No crops could be raised, as there was no safety in the fields or elsewhere at any distance from the houses, and even there no one was safe against midnight surprise. The settlers were impoverished, and many of them on the verge of starvation. The financial energies of the province had been expended upon the capture of Cape Breton, an enterprise which the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was to render void the following year. The Indians were clearly for war; and no compact of peace, however solemnly entered into, was binding upon them. They were thirsty for the blood of the settlers, and in the prosecution of their inclinations had degenerated into a band of midnight plunderers, butchers, and incendiarists. They were beasts of prey. It is a wonder they abstained from cannibalism, such was their delight to glut themselves with the blood of the defenceless and helpless women and children, once they had butchered their natural protectors.

The garrisons were to be reënforced and the savages were to be held in check; else the settlers would be obliged to abandon their lands, at a loss of all their possessions. But the winter of 1747–48 went, like other previous winters. Spring opened. With it came the feverish unrest and haunting fears of the inroads of the savages. Nor had they long to

wait;[1] for Parson Smith, as early as May 20, notes the appearance of a band of one hundred savages at North Yarmouth, while along the New Hampshire frontier the Indians began their marauding around Rochester of a Sunday morning, which fell on the first day of the month.

In the spring of 1748, May 1, which fell on a Sunday morning, Jonathan Hodgedon's wife was going to her milking. Suddenly she was beset by some savages. She at once set up an outcry for her husband, and when the savages endeavored to silence her she cried out the louder. Evidently they had no intention of killing her, but they did. Her husband, hearing her, hastened to her assistance, and became a witness to her butchery. He fired at the savages, but his weapon flashed in the pan and it was his turn to run, which he did successfully. The alarm, however, was given to the settlement, so the savages were able to accomplish nothing more at Rochester, where the incident took place.[2]

[1] In the latter part of April the Indians ambushed a party of soldiers between Fort George and Maquoit. Captain Burns and a man by the name of Bragg were killed. A Mr. Werburn was captured.

Smith's *Journal*, p. 133.

A boy was killed, also Captain Burnell and another, also Lieutenant Mackburn.

Pejepscot Papers.

Wheeler's *Brunswick*, p. 62.

[2] Haven's *MS. Letter.*

Parson Smith notes, on May 3, 1748: "The Indians killed one Eaton . . . at North Yarmouth and burnt all the houses at Weir's (garrison). They waylaid the whole road to New Casco."

From along the Presumpscot to the Androscoggin, even as far as the Saco, the savages infested the trails. At Brunswick they captured Captain Burnell and one of his neighbors.

Over in New Hampshire the savages came into the country around Fort Dummer the latter part of May. They were evidently of the party discovered by Captain Stevens in the neighborhood of Crown Point. Stevens was again appointed to the command of the garrison at Number-Four, and was on his way thither, with a force of one hundred men. Of these, a scouting-party of eighteen was sent out, with Captain Elezar Melvin in command. Melvin crossed the track of the savages and followed the trail back to West River, where, as his men were diverting themselves by shooting salmon, they were suddenly surprised. The English lost at this time six men killed. The others escaped, to reach Fort Dummer as best they could; but the remaining twelve came in safely.[1]

The next month (June) the savages killed three men belonging to the fort at Hinsdale,— Nathan

[1] Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 294.

In Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., pp. 561-563, one will find a graphic relation of what became known as "Capt. Melvin's Scout."

French, Joseph Richardson, and John Frost. Seven others were captured, one of whom, William Bickford, did not survive his wounds.

Captain Hobbs, with forty men, was scouting in the region of West River, where they came upon a band of savages, and, taking them by surprise, a pitched battle ensued. Hobbs and his men held their ground for three hours. When Hobbs discontinued the fight, with three men killed and four wounded, these same savages, between Fort Dummer and the fort at Hinsdale, killed two men and captured nine others.[1]

It was at this time the news of the prospects of a peace between France and England reached the colonies; but the savages kept at their ravages. The result of the news of the peace was that the garrison at Number-Four was withdrawn, with the exception of fifteen men. Shortly after, Obadiah Sartwell was killed, and a son of Captain Stevens was taken to Canada. He was afterward released and returned to New Hampshire.

The news of the peace reached Falmouth on July 2, 1749. There was an exchange of prisoners, and Cape Breton fell into the hands of the French once more. The New England Colonies took this giving up of Cape Breton as a serious affront, the charges for the capture of which amounted to a half-million, sterling, and three thousand men; but

[1] Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 563.

it was a matter over which the colonies had no control, and after some show of anger against the Crown, which was aroused by the belief that the Ministry was little concerned with the good or ill prosperity of the colonies, the latter accepted the situation. The Boston public was especially incensed at the impressment by Commodore Knowles, at the port of Boston, of "ship carpenters, apprentices and laboring landsmen."[1]

It resulted in the gathering of a mob in King Street, and the throwing of stones and bricks into the chamber where the council were sitting, and the town was put under arms. But the matter blew over, and the settlers to the eastward were left to fight the savages as best they could, except that the Provincial authorities made some effort to get at the wishes of the eastern Indians as to obtaining a cessation of their ravages.

Early in the spring a sachem came into the fort at St. Georges. He told Captain Bradbury that his people were tired of war, and intimated that if they were in Boston they would agree to a peace. Bradbury obtained passage for them in the province snow. June 23, 1749, the Indians who went to Boston in the vessel had a conference in the Council Chamber at Boston. They professed to be the

[1] Impressment had long been practised in England, though not enforced by law.

Address to Inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, p. 5.

delegates from the Pigwackets and Penobscots. They said peace was desired by the St. Johns and the St. Francis Indians. The sachems only awaited the appointment of a time and place for the completion of the peace compact.[1] The confidence of the savages in the power of the French was shaken, as the English had, in this last war, everywhere prevailed against the former.[2]

The place named was Falmouth. The time was September 28, following. Little more is to be recorded of this war, except that the Canibas kept alive their enmity against the English. After the arrangement at Boston for the Peace Meeting at Falmouth the settlers began to find their way back to their familiar clearings, being charged by the government to be especially careful to use all means to keep the Indians in a friendly frame of mind. A trading-house was opened at St. Georges, and private traffic between the settlers and the Indians was forbidden.

The larger settlements had held their own fairly well. Scarborough, long known as the "Bloody Ground," had some twenty garrisons. None of these had been destroyed. Among those best known were Vaughn's and Larrabee's. Eleven families were housed in the Vaughn garrison at one time — a condition that was common to all the

[1] *Massachusetts Records*, p. 16.

[2] Mascarene to Shirley, May, 1744.

frontier settlements. The fortified places were comparatively safe, and were seldom molested. It was, however, true that no comparison of this last war was to be made with the loss of life in the first and second Indian wars. It is estimated that in Scarborough alone the savages killed a round hundred of the settlers. Black Point contributed the larger share of victims to these savage reprisals.

The twenty-eighth of September, 1749, came, and the commissioners from Boston came down to Falmouth in good season; but it was not until October 14 that the first Indian appeared. That same day a delegation came in from Penobscot and Norridgewock and St. Francis. The conference was held at the First Parish Meeting-house, on the Neck.[1] The famous Dummer treaty formed the basis of that under consideration for the "Submission and Agreement" of these tribes.[2]

New Hampshire was included in this treaty,[3]

[1] This conference with the Indians was held at the meeting-house of the First Parish on the Neck, now Portland, of which the Rev. Thomas Smith was then pastor. He takes a brief notice of the occasion in his *Journal*. He says, "The town is full of company." "Oct. 17, I dined with the Commissioners." Hutchinson was afterwards Governor of Massachusetts, and Otis, who was also here at the time as a spectator, was the father of the celebrated lawyer and patriot.

Maine Hist. Coll., vol. iv., p. 145, note.

Smith's *Journal*.

[2] *Maine Hist. Col.*, vol. iv., pp. 145-167.

[3] Williamson, vol. ii., p. 259.

though Belknap makes no mention of the fact. It was hoped that after the commissioners left Falmouth for Boston there would be no more outbreaks. However, on December 2, following, an unfortunate affair happened at Wiscasset. For sometime after, the whites were alarmed, and not without reason. A quarrel arose between some Canibas and the settlers at that place. Some of the settlers went about with chips on their shoulders whenever they came in contact with the savages, for whom they had little consideration, and with whom they had less patience, to say nothing of their lack of confidence in their professions of peace. Some of these settlers were hardly more than rough borderers, who had little liking for law or the rights of their neighbors. In this dispute at Wiscasset — and no one at this day knows what it was all about — one Indian was killed and two more were wounded. This event transpired some six weeks after the treaty had been consummated at Falmouth. Prompt steps were taken to apprehend those of the whites involved in the fracas. They were at once taken into custody; but the fact that two of the prisoners were allowed to escape, or did escape, by their own wits may or may not be taken as a reflection of the local sentiment in the matter. These evaded trial, but the other was tried for felony and convicted. His further disposition under the laws of the province is not recorded by either Williamson or North. It may

be noticed in passing that the court records of those days were singularly deficient.[1]

The following year, on September 11, 1750, one hundred savages came down river to Richmond with some of the disaffected Canibas, and at once attacked Fort Richmond with a furious assault. Captain Samuel Goodwin, eluding the enemy, came into the fort from up the Kennebec under cover of night, with a handful of men; and the Indians, being informed by a captive of the relay, at once left the vicinity. It was in this same year that a small party of savages came into the neighborhood of the Frankfort (Dresden) settlement. Here they waylaid and shot a man named Pomeroy at the door of his house.[2] One Davis, who was in the house, endeavored to shut the door upon a savage who was about making an entrance; but the latter thrust the barrel of his musket within the lintel, which Davis seized by the muzzle, and with

[1] "(1750) January 11. There has been a great uproar about the men that killed the Indians at Witchassit, they having been rescued by some of our people from the officers, and to day after surrendering themselves to Capt. Bean at Truckhouse, were carried to York."

Smith's *Journal*, p. 141.

York gaol was at that time the strongest place of confinement east of the Piscataqua. It is still standing upon its original site, in a state of fine preservation, and is used as a museum for antique curios.

[2] Minot, p. 141.

the help of the women in the house he wrenched it out of the hands of the savage, who, getting hold of one of the Davis children, made off with it.

Another party of the savages went over to Swan's Island, where they committed some depredations, killing cattle and terrifying the settlers. They crossed over to Parker's Island. From there they went to Georgetown and on up stream into Wiscasset. At Georgetown they attacked a house the door of which was stoutly barred. With their hatchets they chopped through the door. The settler had resisted up to this point, when he made his escape through a window at the rear of the house, to run for the water. The savages gave hot chase after. The settler made a plunge into the river and struck out for the opposite shore on Arrowsic Island, whereupon the pursuers took to their canoes. When they had come up with him he turned on them and, overturning their canoe, threw them into the water. While they were struggling to right their craft the settler got safely to shore and out of their way. His house was burned.[1]

It was on one of the neighboring islands one morning, early, in these days, that the house of James Whidden was surprised. Whidden and his wife were in bed, but, taking the alarm, they ran into the cellar in their night-clothes, where they secreted themselves so successfully that they were

[1]North's *History of Augusta*, p. 34.

overlooked by the savages, and so escaped. Their two sons, Williamson says, were taken to Canada and sold to the French in a time of peace. On this raid the savages captured some twenty to thirty of the settlers along the Kennebec River. Among these were the two Whidden boys. What is most singular is that the English made no attempt to prevent these raids of the year 1750.[1] Possibly they wished to avoid a general uprising of the savages; for with the English the conciliatory spirit seems to have been predominant.

After this (1750) these predatory excursions seem to have been discontinued on the part of the savages. The Canibas either quieted down or went to Canada, as did some other members of the neighboring tribes. It was evident they preferred the French to the English for neighbors. Certainly

[1]After the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1749, it was supposed that the war had terminated, and that the settlement at Broadbay, Waldoborough, would be revived. The next spring, therefore, one Smith, a German, against the remonstrances of Burton and other friends, returned with his wife and her son to their old habitation in that place. His removal being known, he was followed by Indians, who soon attacked his cabin, and by hurling torches against the roof, which was covered by spruce bark, endeavored to set it on fire. All such as took effect Smith was able from the inside to thrust off, and thus avert the intended mischief. Unable to succeed in this manner, the savage assailants resorted to stratagem, by cowering down in silence and entirely out of sight. Smith, finding the attack had ceased, raised his head through the

they found among their Canadian friends a greater license for the exploitation of their barbarous inclinations, and possibly something of mild encouragement. The French were open to a grave criticism in their maintenance of these savageries on the part of their allies, yet it was only a turning of the tables. In the wars with the Pequods and Wampanoags the English sold their savage captives into slavery at the Barbadoes, while the French found the traffic in English captives possibly not less profitable. They bought the captured English from their savage captors to sell them by way of exorbitant ransom, in multiplied instances, back to their friends in the Massachusetts province — a procedure entirely outside the code of civilized

roof, when he received a ball in his neck. The Indians then rushed into the hut, despatched his wife and himself, and scalped them. Her son, Peter Canagh, who was lame, having been hidden in the cellar, was not injured, and afterwards returned safely to the fort.

Maine Hist. Coll., vol. vii., pp. 326, 327.

The late James McKeen, of Topsham, records an interesting local tradition in his diary.

Wheeler's *Brunswick*, p. 62.

See also Wheeler's account of a savage attack on seven settlers who were getting their hay at New Meadows, July, 1751, when Isaac Hinkley was killed. The others were captured and taken to Canada.

Ibid, pp. 63, 65.

Memorial of Samuel Whitney, vide Pejepscot Papers; also Wheeler, pp. 63, 64.

conflict. It was a species of barbarism that, tainted with the Jesuitism of New France, became even more barbarous under fanatic instigation. Even at this late day no apology will for a moment stand in the light of common decency, or of human ethics; and that the priesthood of any Church whose propaganda was based on the life of the Man of Galilee could become the instigators of such fiendish outrages as were committed for almost a century by the converts of the Montreal Jesuits upon defenceless women and children, to become purveyors in English scalps, is to be classed among the hideous nightmares that sometimes haunt the realm of sleep, rather than as actualities. Yet they were all a portion of the barbaric realities that made up the life of the English settler along the frontier. In no chapter of the world's history has civilization stalked abroad in such a panoply of outrage and cruelty as it did under the Jesuit-blest banners of New France. It was the quintessence of a bloodthirsty paganism, a bacchanalian orgy of frenzied butchery that lacked but the one element of cannibalism to place its perpetrators in the category of the beasts of prey, never to be washed clear of the record of events until history shall itself be forgotten. Frontenac, Thury, Ralé — civilization may extenuate, but never forget.

It was a slow recovery the frontier settlers made from their disasters; but the English Ministry, as well as the colonies, seemed to learn nothing from

the mishaps of their dependents. They were to find a lasting peace only with the elimination of the French influence from the St. Lawrence by the capture of Quebec and the cession of Canada to the English.

As one sums up the straits to which the English settlers were put, it is a marvel they were able to maintain a foothold amid such constant dangers and the consequent deprivation of the commonest necessaries of life. Those were days of extreme hazard, of storm and stress; days which were unlikely ever to return in degree, even if they recurred in kind.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

THE Treaty of Peace entered into between the French and English at Aix-la-Chapelle, which was confirmed October 7, 1748, so far as it applied to the more important interests of the colonies, outside of a cessation of hostilities within the colonies themselves, was not so effectual as it might have been had those powers at that time settled the boundaries of their respective provinces in the New World. The apparent results of this treaty were not so important as what was to grow out of them. The prize for which these two great nations were struggling was the supremacy of the western world. It had been going on, in a way, for almost a century, until the sturdy English whose hamlets lined the coast from the Hudson to beyond the Sagadahoc had accomplished for that long stretch of shore what the French had been unable to do for a few leagues along the St. Lawrence. The English had continually added to their strength, numerically and morally, while the French had been content with the accretion of savages, half-breeds, *habitants*, and some few gentlemen of fortune; its seigniories were wastes of untamed wildernesses; its traffic was that of the *coureurs du bois* and the fur-traders; as for industries, it had none. Its government was priest-ridden, the only apparent policy

of which was the annihilation of the heretic English. Its pastime was the fitting out of savage war-parties to prey upon the English frontier. Its government-house was a shamble, where were bought and sold English men, women, and children.

Such was New France at the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Outside of the siege and capture of Louisburg, it had been immune from the devastation common to prolonged conflicts; but it was otherwise with the English colonies. To the latter, the war had been a burdensome experience. It had imposed upon them an indebtedness of a million pounds sterling. Their commerce on the sea had been practically destroyed. Massachusetts alone is reputed to have paid fully one-half the gross indebtedness of carrying on the contest. Bills had been issued to the amount of two or three millions currency, which at the time of their emission represented a most ruinous depreciation, the ratio falling as low as five to one before their redemption was accomplished, even in those individual colonies whose credit was best sustained.

From 1722 to 1748 the demands upon the Massachusetts province were equal to the increase in her population, so that with the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle she had barely held her own. But it was here the sturdy English pluck of her people brought all their energies to the bending of fortune along the road to prosperity. Settlements were extended, and the credit of the province revived; and with an in-

creasing population, the wider tillage of lands, and the fostering of the arts common to a peaceful community, commerce again began to flourish and a new era had opened to the ambitions of her people.

After the treaty the adjustment of the boundaries between the French and English in America claimed immediate attention; but it was apparent, after one or two conferences between the commissioners of the two powers, that a friendly accommodation in the matter was impossible. It was evident the French were not disposed to yield; but out of the frivolous objection on the part of France to the overtures of the English a plan was formulated which resulted in the founding of Halifax near Chibucto harbor, a deep water indent on the Nova Scotia coast.[1]

Here was a wilderness of primeval forest: huge pine, spruce, and fir. It was a virgin soil to which Edward Cornwallis came with an English fleet in the spring of 1749. Once here, the giants of the woods came down, and the houses went up, built out of lumber from the Massachusetts province. By the time the winter snows had come the new

[1] Bollan's *Letter* of April 25, 1750, in *MS. Letters and Papers*, 1721-1760, fols. 191, 192, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*

Mems. of the English and French Commissioners concerning the limits of Nova Scotia, etc. (edition of 1755).

Hutchinson, vol. iii., p. 15.

Chalmers, *Revolt*, vol. ii., p. 260.

History of the War, p. 7.

town was a comfortable living-place. Here was the first original English settlement east of Pentagoët.[1]

The French had anticipated the English at Nova Scotia, however; for they had begun a settlement in the near neighborhood of Chibucto, where they erected a fort, after which they claimed all the territory from the St. John River to the Penobscot. This done, the Acadians arose in a revolt against the English and declared their adherence to France.[2] After this the French began to build forts in Acadia, until, all the way from Chignecto along the Bay of Fundy, their strongholds might be counted.

One of these forts at the bottom of the Bay of Fundy mounted thirty guns. They had two stout forts on the St. John, while the fort on the isthmus at Bay Verte secured to them an unobstructed passage to Quebec by land. Outwardly, the attitude of the English was a passive one; but the call for English interference along the wilderness border of Virginia was more imperative.

The French colonization of the Mississippi fol-

[1] Haliburton's *Nova Scotia*, vol. i., pp. 136-142.

[2] *Massachusetts Archives.*
History of the War, p. 7.
Hutchinson, vol. ii., pp. 12, 13.
Haliburton's *Nova Scotia*, vol. i.
Minot, vol. i., pp. 132, 133.
Bancroft, vol. iv., pp. 67–72.

lowed the discoveries of La Salle. In 1699 the French had colonized Biloxi Bay. Then came Mobile, in 1711; the settlement of New Orleans, in 1718; and the erection of forts and trading-posts along the Mississippi, the Arkansas, Ohio, and Illinois streams, all of which were intact at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

This treaty having been concluded, the French began to exercise the same activities along the Valley of the Ohio as were marking their occupation of Acadia. At this time the Count of Gallissonnière was Governor of New France, and it was he who despatched Véléron de Bienville with a mixed force of *coureurs du bois* and Indians into the Ohio country. Their errand was to sound the disposition of the savage tribes; to explore the country, with a view to selecting the most effective sites for the maintaining of offensive and defensive posts; and when so found, to mark them by burying in the ground leaden plates on which were engraved the arms of France and the declaration of discovery and occupancy of the country in the king's name. Another part of their errand was to expel such of the adventurous English as had established trading-posts along any of the tributaries of the Ohio. This party pushed through the wilderness into the Ohio country, made their surveys and choice of strategic positions, and, after completing a somewhat wide circuit, Bienville returned to Montreal with his report.

In the year 1753 the new governor, Duquesne, ordered the erection of a line of fortifications along Bienville's trail of 1748–49. Presqu' Isle (Erie, Penn.) was fortified, while Fort Le Bœuf went up at French Creek (Waterford, Penn.). At the junction of French Creek with the Alleghany River they built Fort Venango (Franklin); nor were these outposts to stop before they had occupied what were known as the "Forks of the Ohio," the site of modern Pittsburg.[1]

England's occupancy of Virginia was directly opposed to these claims, as she had taken to herself the ownership of all the lands from the Atlantic to the Pacific, by virtue of her colonization of Virginia, which included practically all the territory covered by Bienville on his circuit. Then, too, the English claimed these Ohio lands by virtue of the trading-posts which had gained a foothold in that region. It was a rich country and an attractive one, and the English were averse to losing it to the French, who already possessed all the great arteries of navigation comprised by the tributaries of the Mississippi, the Great Lakes, and the St. Lawrence; but the odds were against them, as they were soon to discover at an undreamed-of sacrifice.

[1] *Letters and Mems.* relating to Cape Breton, p. 295.
Burr's *Discourse*, p. 17.
Hutchinson, vol. iii., p. 19.
Minot, vol. i., p. 181.
North American Review, July, 1839.

Possibly in no two neighboring colonies could the difference be more marked than between that of New France and the English Colonies of America. France was almost feudal. The administration of affairs was in the hands of one man, whose absolutism was almost royal. The instinct of its people was for conquest. That had been its line of action from the first expedition of Champlain against the Iroquois. Canada was dominated by the "priest, the soldier, and the noble." Its habitants were hardly better than serfs, while its *coureurs du bois* were inured to hardships, many of whom were half-breeds, who constituted a body of trained scouts whose instincts were all aggressive. All were under the influence of the Jesuit, whose inspirations they followed blindly, and with unswerving obedience. The Indians, too, were the natural allies of the French, with whom they mingled on terms of intimacy. The French, many of them, not only spoke the language of the aborigine, but were adopted into the native tribes, with the female portion of which, cohabitation was common; by reason of which, ties of kinship were forged which welded the chain that bound them to the interests of the French in all their schemes of aggrandizement.

Altogether, the population of Canada at this time cannot be estimated to exceed eighty thousand French and half-breeds. It was in this field the Jesuit operated most successfully to accom-

plish a most dangerous coöperation of all those energies that made the warfare, as conducted by this singular combination of civilization and barbarism, to be dreaded by the English settlers. The French settlements were more compact than those of the English, although it was a thin line that stretched to the south and west some three to four thousand miles, beginning at Quebec, and overlapping Detroit to end at Sault Ste. Marie.

With the English it was different. While the English colonists were scattered over a wide area of country, whose control was in the hands of several distinctly independent governments, their numbers were not less than one and a half millions; to say nothing of the negro race, which they had attached to their agricultural interests. These various governments were not even confederate, either in interests or action, except where the same might be compulsory for the common defence. They were made up of Anglo-Saxons, Germans, Swedes, and Dutch; and even in different localities their manners and customs differed as did the language. If they agreed at all, it was in the one purpose of possessing the land for the benefits which might accrue from their well-directed labor and the prosperity that always awaited the beckoning hand of thrift.

They were conquerors only in the adaptation of the means at hand by which they might extend commerce among themselves. Their eye was al-

ways on the "main chance." They had little or no use for the savage; all they asked of the aborigine was that he would maintain a perfect passivity while they from time to time absorbed the lands of his ancestors. As Barry says, "There were few points of affinity between them, and they had few interests in common." By habits, custom, and inclination, their paths lay far apart; and the red man was not so obtuse but that this was one of his earliest discoveries, once his intercourse with the English became fairly grounded.[1]

As early as 1752 the conflict had begun on the Miami in the neighborhood of Presqu' Isle[2], the result of which was a demand upon St. Pierre, the French commandant on the Ohio, by Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, to remove from the English domain. St. Pierre refused to accommodate the Virginian governor.

It was at the close of a wintry day (December 11), 1753, that a slender party of English, with a few Indians, rode up to the entrance of Fort Le Bœuf. At the head of this contingent were two

[1] Minot, vol. i., pp. 178, 179.

[2] *Olden Times*, vol. ii., pp. 9, 10.
Plain Facts, p. 42.
Ramsay's *Am. Rev.*, p. 36.
Sparks's *Franklin*, vol. iv., pp. 71, 330.
Sparks's *Washington*.
North American Review for July, 1839.
Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, p. 87

men, one of whom was later to figure most prominently in the history of the Confederated Colonies. They were admitted to the fort. The elder, who led the way, was Christopher Gist, the expert backwoodsman who had been apprehended as a trespasser by the French and taken to the fort at Presqu' Isle the previous year. The other, who was an adjutant-general in the militia of Virginia, and the commander of this expedition, then only arrived at manhood, was George Washington.

The latter was Governor Dinwiddie's messenger. At once announcing his errand, he gave to St. Pierre the written notice, in behalf of the British Crown, to remove himself and his forces from Fort Le Bœuf, which was on English territory. St. Pierre's reply was to the effect that he would transmit Governor Dinwiddie's message to the Governor of New France, and that until he had instructions to the contrary from his superior he would maintain his position.

Here was the formal invitation to a declaration of war. There is no doubt St. Pierre had already received his instructions, and was acting on them; and that while his denial of Virginia's rights in the matter meant that France was willing to abide the consequences, she was at the same time indifferent as to what they might be, or the manner of their application.

Washington returned to Virginia, arriving at Williamsburg on January 16, following, and at

once reported to the governor St. Pierre's refusal to evacuate the Ohio Valley. Washington had apparently accomplished nothing. His journey through a pathless wilderness, covering a trail of over six hundred miles, involving a continuous exposure of nearly three months to winter storms, hidden danger, and the perils of attack by hostile savages, futile as to its purpose, had marked a crisis in border diplomacy. Along with the answer of St. Pierre, he had taken the dimensions of the fort. Dinwiddie at once notified the home government of the determination of the French to hold their ground; whereupon the British Ministry, without formal declaration of war, directed the Virginians to oppose the encroachments of the French by force of arms, if necessary.

A regiment was at once raised in the Virginia Colony, which was joined by an independent company from South Carolina; and with this force, young Washington, who had been commissioned lieutenant-colonel in command, set out,[1] early in

[1] *Plain Facts*, pp. 45, 46.
Ramsay's *Am. Rev.*, p. 37.
Chalmers, *Revolt*, vol. ii., pp. 264-267.
1 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vii., pp. 70-75.
Gordon's *Am. Rev.*, vol. i., p. 88.
Sparks's *Washington*, vol. ii., pp. 1, 431, 446.
Sparks's *Franklin*, vol. iii., pp. 251-263.
North American Review for July, 1839.
Lord Mahon's *History of England*, vol. i., p. 307, note.

April of 1754, for Great Meadows, where he was to begin the expulsion of the French.

On reaching Great Meadows he was informed that the French had ejected some men from Virginia from their stockade which they were building at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers, for the Ohio Company. The French were completing the stockade for their own use. He also ascertained that a small detachment of French, then on its way to Great Meadows, had pitched camp for the night on a low ground that was somewhat retired from the trail. He determined upon a surprise. The night came in obscure and wet, and, guided by some friendly savages, he came upon the French, and, after a short skirmish, killed ten and captured twenty-one. The surprise was complete. M. Jumonville, the leader of the French, was killed.

Here, at Great Meadows, Washington hastily built a stockade fort, which he christened Fort Necessity. Here he was reënforced by some men from New York, so that his force numbered about four hundred men. Leaving Fort Necessity, he took up the march for Fort Duquesne (Pittsburg); but learning that the French were approaching in force, he retraced his march to his stockade.

It was not long he was to wait, for within a day or two the woods about his rude stockade were thronged with fifteen hundred French and Indians, under M. de Villiers, who at once began a furious

attack on the fort.[1] For nine hours Washington continued an obstinate defence, during which time the deadly rifles of his backwoodsmen had killed two hundred of M. de Villiers' force. A parley was called by De Villiers, and a surrender demanded. His terms were rejected; but during the night the commander of Fort Necessity decided that it was useless to attempt the defence longer against such odds, and on July 4 the Articles of Capitulation were signed and Washington marched his little army out of the fort, to make his way to Virginia without further molestation.

The French were so far masters of the Ohio Valley; and once more the entire English frontier was exposed to the ravages of the Indians,[2] who were

[1] Sargent (*History of Braddock's Expedition*, pp. 49, 50) says this intelligence was received June 29, while Washington was at Gist's plantation; and July 1 his troops returned to the Great Meadows.

Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. ii., p. 175, note.

[2] Pouchot's *Mems.*, vol. i., pp. 14-17.
History of the War, pp. 18, 19.
1 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vi., pp. 138-144.
Ibid, vol. vii., pp. 73, 74.
Chalmers, *Revolt*, vol. ii., pp. 268, 269.
Minot, vol. i., p. 184.
Sparks's *Washington*, vol. ii., p. 474, *et seq.*
Bancroft, vol. iv., pp. 116-121.
Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, pp. 88, 89.
Warburton's *Conquest of Canada*, vol. ii., pp. 7-10.
Sargent's *Braddock's Expedition*, pp. 49-55.
"This skirmish, of small importance, perhaps, in itself,

not tardy in taking opportunity of hostilities which were so congenial to their savage inclinations. This was Washington's first capitulation, and his last; and it was here at Great Meadows the French and Indian War was precipitated, that was to involve all Europe in a mighty conflict. Here was fought the opening battle of the French and Indian War, the initial blow of which was struck with the shot that awoke the camp of Jumonville on the night of May 28, although war between France and England was not formally declared until two years later, in 1756.[1]

It was Voltaire who exclaimed: "What a mixture of political interests are here with us that a cannon-shot fired in America should give the signal that sets Europe in a blaze!"

With this brief reference to the causes which

was yet among the principal causes of the war. It is not less memorable as the first appearance in the pages of history of one of their brightest ornaments — of that great and good man, General Washington."

Lord Mahon's *History of England*, vol. i., p. 294 (Appleton's edition).

[1] War was declared by England in May, and by France in June.

Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. ii., p. 205, note.
Trumbull *MSS.*, vol. i., p. 102.
History of the War, pp. 44-52.
Mortimer's *England*, vol. iii., p. 531.
Belsham, vol. ii., p. 396.
Trumbull's *Connecticut*, vol. ii., p. 373.

brought on the French and Indian, or Seven Years', War, our relation is hereafter confined to those hostile occurrences which transpired along the New England frontier.

In reverting to affairs in New England at this time, in New Hampshire, especially, the disposition to reclaim and improve the Connecticut River Valley grew out of a controversy in relation to the maintenance of Fort Dummer, which led the governor to at once issue township grants in that section. Fort Dummer was located at the extreme southwest corner of the New Hampshire lands. It was hedged in on the south by Massachusetts, and on the west by the Connecticut River and the Vermont wilderness beyond. These new grants were located on both sides of the river. There being a prospect of the continuance of peace, the settlers began to return to their plantations westward. The government plan was to extend these settlements up the river, to include the fertile Coos meadows. In 1752 an exploring-party penetrated the Coos wilderness to survey and lay out new townships along its rich intervales.

They were not unobserved, however; for the Indians were not long in discovering the purpose of the English, and, knowing the value of these lands, some of the Aresaguntacook (St. Francis) Indians appeared at the fort at Number-Four, to remonstrate against the invasion of this territory. At Number-Four (Charlestown), some thirty-five

to forty miles up river from Fort Dummer, they came in with a flag of truce, simulating ignorance of the treaty of peace, to protest to Captain Stevens against the contemplated English occupancy of their Coos lands. They refused to allow the establishment of settlements at Coos. They regarded such as an affront, which they would resist. This threat was promptly reported by Stevens to the Massachusetts governor, who at once conveyed this information to the New Hampshire authorities, with the result that the Coos lands were left undisturbed.

In May of this year (1752) a hunting-party of four men was attacked on Baker's River. One of these English hunters was John Stark[1], afterwards famous as General Stark. The party was attacked by twelve savages, under the sachem Captain Moses. Stark was surprised and captured. A brother of the latter, with another man, was in a canoe in the stream. John Stark warned his brother of his danger. The latter, William Stark, made the further side of the stream safely, and so escaped. The other man in the canoe was shot.[2] Another of the English party was captured with John Stark. These were taken up the Connecticut and across Lake Memphremagog to the Indian settlement. There, young Stark was rigged out in a lot of sav-

[1] Shirley's printed conference, 1754.

[2] Information of W. Stark.

age toggery and adopted into the tribe. His experience here, says Belknap, "qualified him to be an expert partisan in the succeeding war," for he was redeemed in the course of time; but what became of Eastman, who was captured with him, does not appear.

The next year two savages came into Canterbury, where they were plied with liquor. These were Sabatis and Plausawa, the former of whom had been concerned in the abduction of two negroes from this vicinity the previous year. Some words arose over this matter between the savages and some of the Canterbury settlers. Before the savages had passed the limits of the Canterbury woods they had paid for their former treachery with their lives.[1]

[1] The names of the persons concerned in the death of these Indians, it appears from the Rev. Mr. Price's *History of Boscawen*, p. 44, were Bowen and Morril. The circumstances of their death are particularly narrated in an article entitled "Indian Bridge," in the *Collections of Farmer and Moore*, vol. iii., pp. 27-29. It appears from that account that the person who killed them was Peter Bowen, to whose house in Contoocook (Boscawen) he invited them to stay during the night. "They had been in a surly mood and had used some threats to two persons who offered to trade with them that day, but became in better humor on being freely treated with rum by their host. The night was spent in a drunken Indian frolic, for which Bowen had as good a relish as his guests. As they became intoxicated, he fearing that they might do mischief, took the precaution to make his wife engage their

The two men accused of the killing of the Indians were taken into custody at Portsmouth, where they were indicted for murder and the day set for their trial. The trial did not come off; for, during the night previous to the day on which the trial was to be had, a mob of armed men broke into the jail and made off with the prisoners. Public procla-

attention, while he drew the charges from their guns. The next morning they asked Bowen to go with his horse, and carry their baggage to the place where their canoe was left the evening before. He went and carried their packs on his horse. As they went, Sabatis proposed to run a race with the horse. Bowen suspecting mischief was intended, declined the race, but finally consented to run. He however, took care to let the Indian outrun the horse. Sabatis laughed heartily at Bowen, because his horse could run no faster. Then they proceeded apparently in good humor. After a while, Sabatis said to Bowen — 'Bowen walk woods,'— meaning 'go with me as prisoner.' Bowen said, 'No walk woods, all one brothers.' They went on until they were near the canoe, when Sabatis proposed a second race, and that the horse should be unloaded of the baggage and should start a little before him. Bowen refused to start so, but consented to start together. They ran, and as soon as the horse had got a little before the Indian, Bowen heard a gun snap. Looking around, he saw the smoke of powder, and the gun aimed at him. He turned and struck his tomahawk in the Indian's head. He went back to meet Plausawa, who seeing the fate of Sabatis, took aim with his gun at Bowen. The gun flashed. Plausawa fell on his knees and begged for his life. He pleaded his innocence, and former friendship for the English; but all in vain. Bowen knew there would be no safety for him, while the

mation was made for the apprehension of the jail-breakers, but the interest in the affair ended there.[1]

A relation of these events, while of minor importance, indicates not only the temper of the times, but a disposition on the part of the settlers to make short work with an insolent savage.

From June 29 to July 6, 1749, the old town of Falmouth was the scene of another treaty with the Indians, which the commissioners from New Hampshire attended officially.[2] The Aresagunta-

companion and friend of Sabatis was living. To secure himself, he buried the same tomahawk in the skull of Plausawa. This was done in the road on the bank of the Merrimack River, near the northerly line of Boscawen. Bowen hid the dead bodies under a small bridge in Salisbury. The next spring the bodies were discovered and buried."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 307, note.

[1] *MS. Letters* of Governor Wentworth.

[2] "(1749) June 18. We have been painting and fitting up our house for the treaty which is approaching.

"June 21. The Norridgewock Indians came here — forty-two in all, and twenty-five men.

"June 24. Several Transports that have the soldiers for Kennebeck got in today.

"June 25. Eight hundred soldiers got in and encamped at Bangs' Island.

"June 26. The Governor got in this morning. P.M. Came on shore and lodged at Mr. Foxes.

"June 27. The government dined at the Court Chamber.

"June 28. Yesterday and to-day we had a vast concourse dined us at our expense.

"June 29. The gentlemen yesterday met the Norridge-

cooks (Anasagunticooks) sent an ominously worded message that sounded a note of hostility, the only ripple of unrest noted upon this peaceful occasion. The message of the Aresaguntacooks was that, with them, the hatchet was not yet buried.

Trouble, however, was brewing; for it was while this conference was going on that on the banks of

wock Indians and proposed to them the building of a fort at Ticonic.

"June 30. Sunday, Parson Brockwell preached in the forenoon and carried on the church form.

"July 1. The Norridgewock Indians gave their answer and refused the fort's being built at Teuconic.

"July 2. The Treaty was signed between the Governor and the Norridgewock Indians.

"July 3. The Indians had their dance; three of the Indians went to Boston and the rest returned home.

"July 5. The Penobscot Indians came — fifteen men, and the government met them in the meeting house.

"July 6. The treaty was finished; seven gentlemen went up the bay and the others to Boston."

Smith's *Journal.*

These treaties are preserved in the archives at Boston. They were drawn on very large sheets of parchment, elaborately ornamented, and colored, probably to impress the Indians with their sanctity. All the gentlemen connected with the government, and the commissioners from New Hampshire and Nova Scotia, signed them. The Indian signatures are hieroglyphics, effigies of some bird, beast, or fish, with the Indian name annexed, written probably by the secretary of the province, who was clerk of the council. Sacred as these treaties were considered, they were soon broken.

Willis, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. viii., pp. 224–226.

the Youghiogany the battle of Fort Necessity had been fought and lost by the English — of which, however, this conference was wholly unaware. Over the horizon of Great Meadows a speck of cloud had blown across the sky no larger than a man's hand, which, less than two years later, was to envelop the New England frontier in its baleful shadow, when the rivalry between England and France for the possession of the New World was to revolutionize the history of America and revise the geographical boundaries of Europe.

To complete the record of contemporary events it is necessary to go back some three or four years. The Canibas were a ferocious tribe of savages, and since the death of Ralé had nothing but hatred and revenge for the English; which was augmented by the encroachments of the latter upon the fertile lands up and down the Kennebec, and the erection of forts which extended from old Cushnoc (Augusta) down river even to Cape Small Point. The English settlement at Georgetown was especially irritating to them, as was apparent by their repeated raids in that locality; but with the constantly increasing number of the settlers, and the even greater decimation of their own race, they were content to operate along the outer tier of hamlets taking some shape to the north of Falmouth.

With the announcement of the peace between England and France the savages retired to their old haunts, where they held themselves in seclusion

and quiet; except the Canibas, who refused to be placated — possibly because, by the advent of the English upon the Kennebec, they had abandoned their old hunting-grounds, and in response to the solicitations of the French had mostly removed to Canada.[1] Of the eastern Indians, the Canibas (Kennebec) were the most ferocious. It is the opinion of the Indian annalist that the isolate depredations that marked the years following the last Falmouth treaty (1749), to the declaration of war on the part of the Massachusetts province in 1755, were perpetrated by roving bands from the Canadian Mission of St. Francis, whose knowledge of the trails that led from the Chaudière to the Kennebec was a familiar one.[2]

[1] "The Norridgewocks have left their usual place of Residence, and in all probability, have joined the St. Francois Indians. I am well satisfied they would not meet us at St. Georges." (Lieutenant-Governor's Speech.)

Minot, p. 165.

[2] The Valley of the Kennebec offered to the Indians easy access to the settlements of the English, its headwaters affording numerous short portages to the three great rivers of the Maine province, the "century-trod" highways of the aborigines.

The sources of the Kennebec and the west branch of the Penobscot interlock with the headwaters of the Chaudière by Du Loup and Lake Megantic. The head of the Androscoggin is not far away. All these headwaters are connected by portages well known to the savages.

Montressor made a water journey in 1760, by the way of

The most serious raid of 1750 was made in the direction of Gorhamtown, when some twenty or thirty settlers were captured along the outskirts of the settlements between the Presumpscot and the Saco Rivers. One was captured at Maquoit; another at New Marblehead (Windham).[1]

It was in the autumn the savages were in these localities, when they captured Bartholomew Thorn, a trapper. As it appeared, these Indians were from Canada, and McLellan thinks they were strangers to the place and unaware of the value of their prize. Thorn was a noted hunter and Indian-fighter, and was able to meet the savage at his most subtle game. On this occasion he had been to meeting, and was unarmed. The surprise was complete. He was taken to Canada, but made his escape and found his way home through the wilderness. He was something of a recluse, and showed

the Chaudière, Du Loup, Penobscot, and Moosehead Lake, to the Kennebec, and returned by Dead River and Lake Megantic. It was from Montressor's *Journal* that Benedict Arnold had his intimation that made way for his celebrated expedition to Quebec.

The savages living on these streams had easy access to the Kennebec, and thence into New Meadows River to Casco Bay.

North, p. 38.

Maine Hist. Coll., vol. i., pp. 448-466.

[1] "(1750) September 22. Webb's son was taken at Marblehead (now Windham) by the Indians."

Smith's *Journal*, p. 144.

no more compunction in killing an Indian than did Richard Hunniwell, of Scarborough, in the days prior to 1713.

At Gorhamtown, though the Indians were virtually at peace with the English, the settlers still lived at the fort, and, when Thorn was captured, were unaware of the proximity of the savages. The summer had gone, and the men were in the fields gathering their harvests. They still kept their guns handy, and it was their custom to post one of the smaller lads on a stump, who acted as a lookout for the savages and watched over the guns and ammunition. For greater safety they usually wrought in a body, going from field to field until all had been properly tilled and cropped. It is not known how many were in the party that captured Thorn.

In the fort were some ten families. The McLellans were of the number. The McLellan dog was a part of the community. When the men were away, as at this time, the dog remained at the fort. The women were about their work, when suddenly the dog began to show unusual signs of anger. When Mrs. McLellan's attention was called to the dog's apparent uneasiness she remarked that there were Indians in the neighborhood, and at once closed the fort gate. The other inmates of the garrison thought she must be mistaken; but once the gate was closed the dog quieted down and seemed satisfied. Mrs. McLellan armed herself with a

gun and went into the watch-box with another woman. Patient, and trusting the sagacity of the dog, Mrs. McLellan began her watch. Suddenly the foliage of a near-by bush attracted her attention, and thrusting the muzzle of the gun through the loophole in the wall, she waited — not long, however; for soon the head of an Indian came in sight. A moment later the savage had left his covert to make a survey of the fort. The musket boomed out on the still air and the savage gave a leap, to fall to the ground, where he began to dig into the dirt with his hands as if endeavoring to gain the shelter of the screening foliage. The report of the gun brought the men from the field on the run; but when they reached the fort to make a search for the wounded savage, he had disappeared. A considerable pool of blood was discovered at the place where he fell, and the settlers followed the ruddy trail for some distance into the woods.[1] The intended savage attack on Gorham-

[1] McLellan, *History of Gorham*, pp. 60-63.

Mrs. Samuel Plaisted, of Winnock's Neck, routed a force of some twenty savages with no other assistance than that of a child four years old. The Indians had entirely surrounded the house, and were on the point of entering before Mrs. P. discovered them. No sooner was she conscious of her danger than it occurred to her to employ a novel means of defence. She immediately began calling over several names in quick succession, being careful to use the names of persons whom the Indians feared as they did the Evil Spirit, and to shout

town by this discovery of their purpose was happily frustrated.

After committing what damage they could along the Presumpscot, they swung across-country into what is now Paris (Me.). Here they came upon two hunters by the names of Snow and Butterfield. They came through the woods in single file. Snow was crouched upon the ground in a sitting posture, and was, as Williamson says, "pecking at his flint." The Indians rushed upon the two men with a whoop. Snow on the instant determined not to be captured; but having nothing but a charge of partridge-shot in his gun, he waited until the foremost savage was almost upon him, and then, taking a quick yet accurate aim, he killed the leader of the party. He was immediately riddled with bullets from the guns of the other savages,

loud enough to be distinctly heard by those about the house. She gave out orders for the defence, now directing this one and now another, and at the same time driving an iron ramrod into an empty gun-barrel with all the rattling possible; while the little child, her only companion, obeyed orders perfectly by upsetting the chairs and everything else it could move. This was the work of a moment, but it was a decisive moment with the Indians; for, hearing all this confusion, and not doubting in the least but that all the dreaded persons named by Mrs. P. were rushing out upon them, they were soon out of sight and hearing in the thick woods. Such were the mothers of the heroes of the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Maine Hist. Coll., vol. iii., pp. 174, 175.

who at once fell upon the dead hunter to mangle his body with their knives and axes. Then they left it among the brush, unburied, to become carrion for the wolves and foxes. Taking up their dead leader, they carried him until they came to a boggy place where Moose Pond empties into the Little Androscoggin, taking Butterfield along with them. At the bog they broke a hole through the scurf, through which they crushed the inert body of their dead sachem, pushing it deep into the ooze of the mud; after which they replaced the scurf, and then, for a little indulging their grief, they took up their march across the lake region of upper Maine, and so into Canada.[1]

In June of 1751 the Indians were about the outskirts of Falmouth. Job Burnal was riding his horse quietly along one of the Falmouth roads. There was a ripple of smoke from the wayside bushes, and horse and rider were dead. A month later the savages scoured the vicinity of New Meadows, capturing seven of the English.[2]

[1]The text is taken from Williamson, who is not always careful either of dates or localities. Smith sets the time as four years later, although his "back of Yarmouth" is capable of broad interpretation.

[2]"(1751) July 27. We have news of the Indians taking seven persons on Wednesday last, at the New Meadows, viz: three Hinkleys, two Whitneys, Purrington and Lombard."

Smith's *Journal*, p. 146.

Wheeler's *Brunswick*, p. 62.

In 1753 there were eleven towns in Maine. Some of them were of considerable importance. A few had passed out of the crude settlement period and had grown into some solidarity. East of the Piscataqua, Falmouth was the most populous.[1] Reaching out, north and east, were the newer places, where the blockhouse or the fort was the nucleus of the hamlet. The settlers were hopeful that the peace might be lasting, and had begun to assume something of their old activity. Their constant endeavor was to avoid friction with the savage. Every effort was made at conciliation, even to the satisfying of the red man's base appetite for liquor, which at some of the truck-houses was offered the Indians as an act of hospitality. Two new trading-houses were opened in 1752, ostensibly for their accommodation,— one at Fort Richmond, of which William Lithgow was truck-master, and another at Fort St. Georges.

On October 20 of this year a conference was

[1] "(1753) December 13. I reckoned up the families of the Parish, and there were three hundred and two, and New Casco being set off (sixty-two families) there remains two hundred and forty, one hundred and twenty of whom are on this Neck, eight on the Islands, twenty-one on Back Cove, forty-eight in Stroudwater Parish, including Long Creek, and the remaining scattered on Presumpscot and Back-of-the-Cove families, and in Purpoodock, three hundred families. In the whole town five hundred families."

Smith's *Journal*, p. 152.

had with the Indians, and the Dummer treaty was renewed.[1] Everything was done to convince the savages of the friendliness of the English, the main purpose being to keep them quiet and good-natured. Their only complaint was that the English were building too many forts and establishing too many settlements, thus narrowing their hunting-lands and occupying their best fishing-places. The French still claimed the Kennebec, and the Indians disclaimed the titles under which the English claimed to hold these lands in fee. Fort Shirley had already been built at Frankfort (Dresden), and the settlers had been rapidly taking up the most favorable spots for occupancy on the river;

[1]At this conference (September, 1752), which was attended by a representation from the Penobscot, the St. Johns, and the Norridgewock tribes, the treaty made at Falmouth in 1749 was confirmed. In the speech of Louis, the chief of the Penobscots, occurs this remarkable language: "There has of late mischief been done among us; but now we are all come to bury it. In order whereto, we are for proceeding upon Gov. Dummer's treaty, by which it was concluded, that the English should inhabit the lands as far as the salt water flowed, and no further; and that the Indians should possess the rest. Brethren: As I said before, so I say now, that the lands we own, let us enjoy; and let nobody take them from us. We said the same to those of our own religion, the French. Although we are a black people, yet God hath planted us here; God gave us this land, and we will keep it. God decreed all things; He decreed this land to us; therefore neither shall the French nor English possess it, but we will."

Willis, Smith's *Journal*, p. 149, note.

and now a new fort was projected still higher up on Winslow Stream, where the Sebasticook meets the Kennebec.

In 1753 the commissioners had a conference with the Canibas at Fort Richmond. They told the English that if the latter would let them alone and keep off their lands they would observe the peace. They were uneasy over this matter, as when the English came in the Indians had to go out. Captains Lithgow and Goodwin were in charge of the Kennebec region. The savages were to be kept good-natured at any price; so James Pitts was directed by the province to supply Goodwin with a barrel of rum, with which to treat the Indians that were going to and from Frankfort.[1]

Here along this river was the old Kennebec Purchase, one of the parties to which was Edward Winslow, of Plymouth (1661). For nearly ninety years the title had been only a matter of the patent and its sale. In 1749 there was a move, in behalf of the heirs, to make some investigation of the condition of the property, as all the settlements were held only by squatter's rights; and it was about a year later that the Plymouth parties interested proclaimed their legal rights to the territory. In 1754 the Plymouth Company had put up two blockhouses. These were Forts Western and Shirley. Fort Western was at old Cushnoc, while Fort

[1]North's *History of Augusta*, p. 44.

Shirley was some distance further down the river.[1] It was in this same year that Fort Halifax was built,[2] so the Canibas had some reason for complaint.

Below Fort Shirley was Fort Richmond, and still further down the Kennebec was Colonel Noble's fort at ancient Augusta, at Small Point Har-

[1] "About the year 1752, the Plymouth Company erected two blockhouses about 24 feet square and two stories high, and placed some cannon therein. The above blockhouses at opposite angles of a picket work 200 feet square, and a shed built about 40 feet long. The roof built lintow ways, which building was called Fort Shirley, alias Frankfort.

"Fort Western, above, was built by the Plymouth Company, the description of which is as follows: Four blockhouses two stories high, two of which were about 24 feet square, the others about twelve feet square. Those blockhouses stand at the four corners of the picket work, 150 feet square, composed with a row of open pickets round two squares, within the above picket work. The house about 100 feet long, and about 32 feet wide, built of hewed timber, and two stories high. When this fort was built it was under guard of the Province."

Maine Hist. Coll., vol. viii., p. 207, note.

[2] "The same year Fort Halifax was built, and the cannon and ironwork of which were carried up with two scows or gundaloes, which drew about two feet of water. The gunnels of which vessels were about a foot clear above water, and were towed up to Fort Halifax by the assistance of the army that guarded them."

Ibid.

bor.[1] This energy on the part of the Plymouth Company was due to the prospects for peace which followed the meeting at the St. Georges fort in August, when the old Dummer treaty was gone over and renewed.

It was voted by the company to lay out two townships on the eastern side of the river, opposite Fort Richmond. It was voted to "build a defensible house 400 feet square for the greater security of the settlers." This house was built the following summer, and became known in 1757 as

[1] "Kennebec Purchase to James Bowdoin, Dr.
1754, Nov. 17. Paid Thomas Johnson, for copper plates to engrave the plan on, 4 pounds."

Colonel Noble's fort is prominent on this map. It is represented of two stories, with a watch-box on the conical roof, and with a flag flying over all. Job Lewis, the other signer of the petition, was a resident of Boston, and a member of the Pejepscot Company. He also had a house at the ancient town of Augusta, at Small Point Harbor. His fort was on the eastern shore of Merry-meeting Bay, where the Kennebec enters. It is marked "Lewis' F." on the engraved plan.

Note to above: This plan is fairly engraved, on a scale of eight miles to an inch, and its title is enclosed by ornamental scrollwork. In the foreground of a landscape stand the figures of two Indians with uncovered heads; one holds a war-club and the other a musket. But, as if in irony, the engraver had made scrolls leading from their mouths. On one is engraved the sentence, "God hath placed us here." The other figure is in the act of a significant gesture, and is saying, "God decreed this land to us."

Maine Hist. Coll., vol. viii., p. 124.

Fort Shirley. Such was the origin of the fortress of Frankfort.

The Kennebec had for many years been the highway to the sea for the savages who made their habitat about its headwaters. With a few portages, it was the overland route from Quebec to the Androscoggin. It was important that some barrier to a free passage of the river and the adjoining country should be effected, as it was down this stream the French and Indians had been accustomed to make their way to the settlements on the English frontier; and as the land of the Kennebec Purchase lay above Fort Richmond, some protection was demanded for those settlers who were willing to undertake the reclamation of its wilderness of virgin woodlands.[1]

Forts Western and Halifax were projected. Governor Shirley selected the site for the latter,[2] making a journey up the Kennebec for that purpose.

[1] Fort Richmond was the principal fort on the Kennebec, and all the territory comprised in the original Kennebec Purchase lay above that fort, and could not be settled unless a strong fortress could be built, as an outpost, further up the river. Unless that could be obtained, the Indian war, then imminent, would destroy all hopes of settling the company's lands, which the proprietors had for some time entertained.

Maine Hist. Coll., vol. viii., p. 215.

[2] "The place where I concluded to erect a fort was thirty-seven miles above Richmond, on a fork of land formed by the Kennebeck and Sebasticook, the latter emptying into the

The Plymouth Company had agreed to build a "defensible house" at Cushnoc, on the condition that Provincial forces should guard the work as it progressed; so this fort was built by the company and garrisoned by the province.[1]

Not long after, there were four forts commanding thirty-seven miles of the Kennebec River. It was rumored that this year (1754) the French were building a fort at a carrying-place on the head-

former about three-fourths of a mile from Taconnett Falls. It is computed to be not quite fifty miles from Penobscot and thirty-one from Norridgewock by water, and twenty-two by land, as measured by a chain.

"The only known communication which the Penobscots have with the river Kennebeck and the Norridgewock Indians, is through the Sebasticook, which they cross within ten miles of Taconnett Falls, and their most commodious passage from Penobscot to Quebec is through the Kennebeck to the Chaudiere, so that a fort here cuts off the Penobscots, not only from the Norridgewocks but also from Quebec, and as it stands at a convenient distance to make a sudden and easy descent upon their headquarters, is a strong curb upon them, as also upon the Norridgewocks."

Governor Shirley's message to the House of Representatives, October 18, 1754, in *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. viii., p. 235.

[1]The wilderness of the Kennebec had never resounded to so much bustle and activity as at the building of Forts Halifax and Western. One condition required by the Plymouth Company in their agreement with the government to erect a "defensible house" at Cushnoc was that the Provincial forces should protect the company's workmen while they were engaged in the building. To do this and shelter all, the

waters of the Kennebec,[1] and Captain John North, of the Pemaquid fort, was sent into that quarter to interfere with the project, but he found neither French nor fort. Whatever may have been the basis of the rumor, it was promptly investigated.

It was, however, in this same month the Canibas came to Fort Richmond to demand rum, or the French would come in the spring clad as Indians and would drive them off the Kennebec.[2] At that time (1754) Fort Richmond was in a dilapidated condition. Shirley recommended the building of a new fort, and the Plymouth Company desired to

timber and other materials were prepared under the guns of Fort Shirley at Frankfort, now Dresden. The fort was built by the company and garrisoned by the province. When ready for being put in place the materials were built into rafts and floated up the river with the tide; but of course they needed much towing. Each raft must have an armed guard, for fear of an attack from the Indians, who looked upon the erection of the forts as an aggression, although some of the chiefs had reluctantly consented to it.

Fort Western was erected on the site of the original Plymouth trading-house of 1629, and was a fortified stone house and dependence of Fort Halifax. The first year it was under the care of Captain Lithgow. He enumerates it, in his letter to Lieutenant-Governor Phips, as one of the several posts he is obliged to garrison.

Maine Hist. Coll., vol. viii., p. 240.

Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, p. 26.

[1] *Massachusetts Records*, vol. ii., p. 327.

Maine Hist. Coll., vol. viii., p. 244.

[2] *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. viii., p. 216.

have the fort removed higher up the river. Instead, Fort Western, as has been seen, was built. A large body of troops was sent to Kennebec this year, consisting of eight hundred men. Five hundred went to the Kennebec headwaters upon an exploring-expedition, while the remainder began work on Fort Halifax. The Canibas objected; but on being shown deeds from their ancestors to the English, they consented and signed a treaty of amity.[1]

The force sent up the river came back to report there were no signs of the French. To better facilitate communication between Forts Western and

[1]At this period, particularly, the owners of the New Plymouth Patent, claiming all the land from Kennebec River to the Sheepscot, and as high up as Norridgewock, were making unusual efforts to occupy and improve their property. This led to loud and repeated complaints on the part of the Indians. In a conference which they held with Governor Shirley's commissioners at Fort Richmond, in the town of Richmond, on the Kennebec, they firmly contended that the English should not go higher up the river than that point. They say: "Here is a river belonging to us; you have lately built a new garrison here; we wish you would be content to go no further up the river than that fort. We live wholly by this land and live but poorly: the Penobscots hunt on one side of us, and the Canada Indians on the other side; therefore do not turn us off this land. We are willing you should enjoy all the lands from the new fort and so downwards."

And when the commissioners exhibited Indian deeds of the land above, they denied any knowledge of such con-

Halifax, a road was built for wheel-carriages;[1] but Lithgow writes of the road: "As to the cut road being of any service it would take fifty men and ten yoke of oxen two days to break and after it was broken it would choke up with y^e^ first wind that blew; some of y^e^ gullies now are drifted ten or fifteen feet deep with snow."[2] Gould says this letter was nine days reaching Boston.

November 6, 1754, a runner came in from Fort Halifax with the startling news that six men who were drawing logs for the use of the fort had been attacked by the savages at their work. One man had been killed and scalped; four were captured; and one had escaped to the fort.[3] This act changed the aspect of affairs. This was about the time of the rumor that the French and Indians had planned an attack on the Kennebec in the coming spring

veyances. Ongewasgone said: "I am an old man, and never heard any of them [his ancestors] say these lands were sold." And they all said what was probably too true: "We don't think these deeds are false, but we apprehend you got the Indians drunk, and so took the advantage of them, when you bought the lands."

Willis, Smith's *Journal*, p. 153, note.

[1] Shirley's message to House of Representatives, October 18, 1754; in *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. viii., p. 235.

[2] Lithgow's *Letter*, January 9, 1755.
Maine Hist. Coll., vol. viii., p. 247.

[3] *Council Records*, pp. 297-314.
Maine Hist. Coll., vol. viii., p. 243.

of 1755; but further than this incident, the winter was an uneventful one.[1]

Upon the news of the assault on these six men, forty men were at once despatched to Fort Halifax with adequate supplies, of which the fort was sorely in need. On the following February 21 Lithgow wrote that the stores had reached Arrowsic and were "gundalowed" to the Chops. Shirley did not place much credence in the rumored plans of the French against Fort Halifax; and he was sustained by the fact that while a deal of public anxiety was aroused, these apprehensions were not verified.

The year 1754 along the Maine frontier had not been one of organized disturbance; but it was otherwise along the western frontier of New Hampshire. In this part of the province the ravages of the Indians began as soon as the latter were informed of the hostilities between the French and the English. The New Hampshire frontier was peculiarly exposed, more so than that of Maine.

The first assault was made in mid-August, on Bakers-town, on the Pemigewasset Stream. Here a woman was killed,[2] and several of the settlers

[1]North, *History of Augusta*, p. 64.

[2]The woman killed was the wife of Philip Call. Timothy Cook, son of Elisha Cook, who was killed in 1746, was killed at the same time. The captives were Samuel Scribner and Robert Barber, of Salisbury, who were both sold to the

were captured. Within three days, at Stevens-town, the savages killed a man and a woman. This broke up the settlements in that region, and the people retired to the lower towns for safety. The government found itself obliged to station soldiers in these abandoned settlements to preserve them from total destruction.

The last of August the house of James Johnson, at Number-Four,[1] was attacked in the early morn-

French, and Enos Bishop, of Boscawen, who arrived in thirteen days at St. François, and within eight weeks was sold to a French gentleman at Montreal for 300 livres. On September 26, the next year, he, with two others, escaped from Montreal; and after traveling twenty-six days, eighteen of which were without any food other than what the wilderness afforded them, he arrived in Charlestown, and from thence returned to their friends. A sum of money had been raised for his ransom; but the person by whom it was sent converted it to his own use. After his return, Bishop represented his sufferings to the General Court, and received fifty pounds from the public treasury.

Price, *History of Boscawen*, pp. 113, 114.

Farmer and Moore, *Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., pp. 62, 63.

Gazetteer of New Hampshire, p. 233.

Papers, in Secretary's office.

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 311, note.

[1]The fort and settlement at Number-Four, being in an exposed situation, required assistance and support. It had been built by Massachusetts when it was supposed to have been within its limits. It was projected by Colonel Stoddard, of Northampton, and was well situated, in connection with the other forts, on the western frontier, to command all the

ing. Everybody in the house was asleep. Johnson, his wife and three children; her sister, Miriam Willard; and two men, Peter Laboree and Ebenezer Farnsworth, were captured. As Belknap says, "The surprisal was complete and bloodless, and they carried them off undisturbed."[1]

The day following, Johnson's wife was delivered of a daughter, to whom they gave the name "Captive." The Indians delayed the march one day's space on account of Mrs. Johnson's illness, while they made a litter upon which she was carried until she was able to ride a horse, which she used until, getting short of food, they killed the horse to supply their larder. The babe was given

paths by which the Indians traveled from Canada to New England. It was now evidently in New Hampshire; and Shirley, by advice of his council, applied to Wentworth, recommending the future maintenance of that post to the care of his Assembly; but they did not think themselves interested in its preservation, and refused to make any provision for it. The inhabitants made several applications for the same purpose; but were uniformly disappointed. They then made pressing remonstrances to the Assembly of Massachusetts, who sent soldiers for the defence of that post, and of Fort Dummer, till 1757, when they supposed that the commander-in-chief of the king's forces would take them under his care, as royal garrisons. It was also recommended to the Assembly of New Hampshire to build a fort at Cohos; but this proposal met the same fate.

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 312.

[1] *Assembly Records.*

bits of horse-flesh to suck, and was nourished in that manner; but they all reached Montreal safely. Johnson was paroled for two months and allowed to return to Number-Four to procure the means to redeem his family.[1] He made an application to the New Hampshire Assembly, from which he received, after some delay, one hundred fifty pounds, sterling, for that purpose.[2]

He did not, however, get back to Montreal until the following spring; and once he had arrived he was accused of breaking his parole. He lost a great portion of his money, it having been taken from him by force; and he was imprisoned in a Canada jail with his family, where they were all taken down with smallpox, but recovered. After a year and a half of captivity Mrs. Johnson, Miss Willard, and the two daughters were shipped to England under a cartel, and so got back to Boston. It was another year and a half before Johnson was released, when he returned to Boston with his son, where he met his wife. Here he was suspected of treasonable designs, and was again put in jail. After some time, no evidence of duplicity being adduced, he was released. His eldest daughter was detained in a Canadian nunnery.[3]

[1]Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 631 .

[2]Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, pp. 311, 312.

[3]Narrative of the capture of Mrs. Johnson, in the *Collections of Farmer and Moore*, for 1822, vol. i., pp. 177-239.

The preparations of the colonies to support the English troops were generous. With the opening spring three expeditions were to be sent against the French, in which attacks on Fort Duquesne, Niagara, and Crown Point were to be made simultaneously. For this latter enterprise New Hampshire raised five hundred men,[1] and despatched them, under Colonel Joseph Blanchard, up the Connecticut by the way of Bakers-town, "to Cohos," which was supposed to be on the way to Crown Point. At Bakers-town they began their bateaux. Relinquishing this labor, under the advice of Governor Shirley, they went out by Number-Four to Albany. Johnson,[2] at Lake George, posted the New Hampshire contingent at Fort Edward — the scene, in 1709, of the annihilation of Colonel Francis Nicholson's little army by a strange pestilence.[3]

It was Folsom, with his New Hampshire men, who defeated Dieskau, September 8, and captured the French general's baggage-train and a num-

[1] *Documentary History of New York*, vol. ii., p. 683.
1 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vii., p. 113.

[2] *Mems. of an American Lady*, vol. ii., p. 61.
Warburton's *Conquest of Canada*, vol. ii., p. 31.
Documentary History of New York, vol. ii., p. 646.
Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, pp. 82, 83.
Allen, *Biographical Dictionary, art. Johnson.*
Campbell's *Annals of Tryon County*, etc.

[3] *MS. Letters* of Clarke, September 16; Seth Pomeroy to his

ber of prisoners.[1] Reënforcements were necessary. Three hundred more New Hampshire men were despatched, under Colonel Peter Gilman; but later in the season these troops were sent home.

In Maine the following year (1755) the savages began to infest the frontier with the coming of mild weather. Several of the settlers were killed, and others were captured. A line of forts extended from Salmon Falls to St. Georges River, and everybody was on the alert, anticipating the advent of the savages. The last of April they had made a raid on Gorhamtown. It is on April 30 that Parson Smith notes the butchery and capture of the Bryants at this latter place. He also mentions the killing of the Peales.[2]

It was this year the fort was built at Pearsontown (Standish), and manned with a garrison of

wife, September 20; and Perez Marsh, September 25; in Williams *MSS.*, vol. i., pp. 174, 182, 184.

Letters on defeat of French at Lake George, p. 8.

1 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vii., p. 112.

Pomeroy says that when the French first rushed towards the camp they fired impetuously upon the English, so that "the hailstones from heaven have not been much thicker than their bullets came." But the fierceness of the first onset was soon checked.

[1]Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. ii., p. 143.

[2]See *ante*, p. 352.

McLellan's *History of Gorham* places the attack on the Bryants of Gorhamtown as April 16, 1746; Williamson, in

eight men; which shows how far inland the adventurous settlers had planted their roof-trees. Between the Presumpscot River and the Saco, along this inland frontier, were some sixty inhabitants. They were mostly living in the forts; yet some, more adventurous than others, thought themselves able to defend their cabins, and it was among these that the savages wrought their atrocities.

Leaving Gorhamtown, they went over into the edge of New Boston (Gray), but did not accomplish much damage at this time. In Frankfort two men were killed and scalped, and their house was burned. They next appeared in the neighborhood of Sheepscot, where five of the settlers were plow-

1751. Smith notes the occurrence in his *Journal*, as in the text. Smith's entry is contemporary, and is undoubtedly correct as to date.

Smith's *Journal*, p. 160.

The savages crossed the lower edge of New Gloucester, which had a small settlement at that time. Near Seabody Pond they came upon Joseph Taylor and one Farwell, and succeeded in capturing these two men without injury to either. Taylor lived with the Indians five years, and by reason of his expert knowledge of French and Indian tongues he afterward became an instructor of Indian youth at Dartmouth College.

Williamson, vol. ii., p. 271.

Williamson puts the capture of Taylor in the autumn of 1750. I am inclined to include it among the incidents of the raid of 1755.

ing in a field.[1] The savages crept upon them under the lee of the fence, and the five were captured. Three of these were taken to Canada, and the other two made their escape. May 20, Parson Smith notes that "One Snow was found killed by the Indians on the back of North Yarmouth, and another man, (with him) taken."[2]

The savages were so open in their depredations that the government could no longer ignore them, and on June 11 (1755) war was formally declared by the province of Massachusetts against the Indians east of the Piscataqua. Special inducements were offered the settlers to hunt them down. To enlisted men two hundred fifty pounds were offered for a single Indian captive; two hundred pounds for an Indian scalp. This munificent offer (payment to be made in Provincial paper) was for the purpose of inducing men to enlist in the Provincial service; as for a captive brought in by an unenlisted man the latter got only one hundred ten pounds; and for a scalp, but one hundred pounds. Recruiting, however, did not seem to gain any additional impetus; for the men preferred the Acadian rather than the scouting or the garrison service at home.

The defence of the eastern frontier was being

[1] Smith's *Journal*, p. 144.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 161.

Vide note 1, page 445 *ante*.

carefully looked after, and companies of scouts were established along the seacoast from Saco to St. Georges,[1] whose patrols extended from post to post. The forts were strengthened everywhere. Forts Western and Halifax were garrisoned by eighty men and abundant stores.

In the forays of the savages the Tarratines had not become particularly involved, and every effort was made by the government to propitiate them and to gain their good-will; and matters seemed in a fair way towards keeping the Tarratines from joining the French, who were making every effort to arouse them from their apparent apathy, and to engage them actively as allies, when an unfortunate affair happened to somewhat disconcert the plans of the English. Captain James Cargill, of Newcastle, had been commissioned to raise a scouting-company. He enlisted some Newcastle men to

[1]Fort St. Georges, situated in the present town of Thomaston, in front of the location now occupied by the mansion of the late General Knox. It was erected in 1719-20, by the proprietors of the Waldo Patent, and made a public garrison soon after. It resisted successfully repeated attacks from Indians and French. The last attack was made in 1758, by a body of four hundred.

The blockhouses erected by Benjamin Burton and Dunbar Henderson were on the banks of St. Georges River. Burton's was situated in the present town of Cushing; it was built of stone and surrounded by pickets. Henderson lived at Pleasant Point, near the mouth of the river.

Maine Hist. Coll., vol. v., p. 367.

make an excursion after scalps. They came upon a party of Indians who were out hunting. They were Tarratines, and were encamped at Owl's Head. Cargill and his party made an immediate attack on the savages, of whom twelve were shot and scalped. The remainder of the party saved themselves by flight. Not satisfied with this slaughter, the English happened upon an Indian squaw, Margaret Moxa, who had been to the St. Georges fort and was returning to her people with her papoose, whom they shot. When she held up her child and cried out, "Nit!" meaning that the men should take her child to Captain Bradbury at the fort, they brutally knocked it on the head. Cargill was arrested and tried for murder; but after two years of imprisonment at Boston he was released.[1]

This was a deadly affront to the Tarratines. The English made their sachems, who were in Boston at that time, many presents, and requested them to take part in the prosecution of Cargill, which, however, they did not do.

This year was marked by the defeat of the opinionated and incompetent Braddock on the Ohio while engaged in his expedition against Fort Duquesne, where his army of British regulars was ambushed and cut up by the French and Indians under Contrecœur, thus with his life paying the

[1]Eaton's *Annals*, p. 95.
Williamson, vol. ii., p. 215.

penalty of his ignorance of the methods adopted by the Indians in their warfare.[1]

In the Crown Point diversion the honors were hardly more than even. Dieskau was practically defeated; but Johnson had failed to reach his objective, the capture of Crown Point. Shirley, bound up in himself and his personal ambitions, had seen all his plans for the advance in the direction of Niagara miscarry. To the eastward, however, the expedition against Nova Scotia was entirely successful. General John Winslow had reclaimed that territory to the English, and by December (1755) Acadia had been depopulated of its "neu-

[1] *Docs.* in *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. ix., p. 211.
Winslow's *MS. Journal*, fols. 136-141.
Letter to People of England, p. 33, *et seq.*
History of the War, pp. 23-25.
Pouchot's *Mems.*, vol. i., pp. 37-44.
Snell's *Narrative.*
Entick, vol. i., p. 143.
Chauncy's *Letter on Ohio Defeat*, p. 4.
Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vii., pp. 91-94.
Ibid, vol. viii., pp. 153-157.
Hutchinson, vol. iii., p. 32.
Mortimer's *England*, p. 514.
Chalmers, *Revolt*, vol. ii., p. 275.
Sparks's *Washington*, vol. ii., pp. 86-88, 473.
Warburton's *Conquest of Canada*, vol. ii., pp. 16-26.
Conspiracy of Pontiac, pp. 94-101.
Bancroft, vol. iv., pp. 184-192.
Hildreth, vol. ii., pp. 459-461.
Vide Washington's *Letter* in Sparks, vol. ii., p. 90.

tral French." The Acadians had been swept from their hamlets and familiar places into a hopeless exile.[1] Whatever of comment humanity has to make upon so drastic an application of the rights of conquest, its suggestion is chargeable to the self-centered Shirley. The English over-seas were led to believe the Acadians to be of doubtful loyalty, malcontents; whose affiliations were entirely French; who had been once tried in the Provincial balance and found wanting. They were regarded

[1]About a thousand of these Acadians arrived at Boston at the opening of winter, among whom were several aged persons, who would have perished had not generous hearts welcomed them to their homes. The Provincial government did what it could to alleviate their sufferings. They were provided for like other poor, only the elderly were exempted from labor. When they found there was no hope of being restored to their homes, many went to Hispaniola, and died. Dispersed throughout the world, the poor Acadians became extinct. A few of their descendants, indeed, still live at the South; but they live to us now chiefly in history. Mrs. Williams, of Connecticut, has written a touching tale of their sufferings; and Longfellow's *Evangeline* is a beautiful tribute to the memory of this people, as honorable to his character as it is creditable to the poetical genius of New England. Compare Winslow's *Journal, passim;* Hutchinson, vol. iii., pp. 38-42; *Journal H. of R.* for 1755, pp. 265, 285, 318, 456; *Ibid,* for 1756, pp. 65, 69, 119.

In the *Massachusetts Archives* are two folio volumes of *MSS.* relating exclusively to the French neutrals, besides a large number of other *MSS.* scattered through other volumes.

Barry, *History of Massachusetts,* vol. ii., p. 204, note.

as mere prisoners of war, rather than citizens, so their disposition was to be such as to render them for the future a harmless factor in Acadian politics. So they were deported and scattered from New Hampshire to Georgia.[1] It is at best a story one likes to forget, along with some others of Puritan authorship.

The conquest of Acadia may be regarded, with the defeat of Dieskau, as making up the decisive events of the campaign of 1755. In the Maine province the Indians, by their skulking in one neighborhood and another where the settlers were

[1] Lawrence, the lieutenant-governor of the province, and his council, aided by Admirals Boscawen and Mostyn, and Belcher, the chief justice, a son of the former Governor of Massachusetts, determined, in accordance with advices from England, procured at the instance of Governor Shirley, that the people should be driven from the homes they loved, and scattered as exiles over the whole breadth of the continent. The liberty of transmigration was refused. They were to be treated as captives; and as captives were they to be sent out to live among the English.

Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. ii., p. 201.

Winslow's *MS. Journal*, fols. 159-163.

Minot, vol. i., p. 122.

Haliburton, vol. i., p. 168.

A general proclamation ordered all the males of the settlements, "both old and young men, as well as all the lads of ten years of age," to assemble at the church at Grand Pré on Friday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, then and there to hear his Majesty's orders communicated; declaring that no

accustomed to some freedom of movement, or were indifferent to danger, had been able to commit an occasional outrage, or accomplish a capture.

A man named Wheeler was going from Fort Western to Fort Halifax. He ran into a nest of savages and was captured. Another, one Barrell, was shot from an ambush in the neighborhood of Fort Western. Further down the river, at Frankfort, near Fort Shirley, John Tufts and Abner Marston were surprised and captured.

It is not strange that the savages could come so near the English settlements and for days lurk un-

excuse would be admitted on any pretense whatever, "on pain of forfeiting goods and chattels in default of real estate."

Some, on the reception of this summons, fled to the forest, and lurked on its outskirts, with ominous forebodings of the fate before them. Yet, on the day appointed, four hundred eighteen unarmed men gathered in the temple, which had for some time been occupied by General Winslow as his headquarters; while without, their wives, with careworn looks, awaited the issue of the strange conference. The doors were closed; and from the lips of Winslow their sentence was slowly but firmly pronounced. "It is his majesty's orders,"—such were his words,—"and they are peremptory, that the whole French inhabitants of these districts be removed. Your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds, and live stock of all sorts, are forfeited to the crown, with all your other effects, saving your money and household goods; and you yourselves are to be removed from this province. I shall do everything in my power that your goods be secured to you, and that you are not molested in carrying them off; also, that

discovered within almost a gunshot of the fort walls, for the region was heavily wooded, and the rim of the forest was only a few rods away from the stockade or the cabin. The tillage-lands of the settlers were hardly more than scant openings in a dense flood of verdure. The wide fields of to-day were then not unlike the untamed wilderness of northern Maine, even now the haunt of the moose

whole families shall go in the same vessel, and that this removal be made as easy as his majesty's service will admit. And I hope that, in whatever part of the world you may fall, you may be faithful subjects, a peaceable and happy people. Meanwhile you are the king's prisoners, and will remain in security under the inspection and direction of the troops I have the honor to command."

At the appointed day, the inhabitants of Grand Pré met for the last time — in all, one thousand nine hundred twenty-three souls. The prisoners in the church were drawn up six deep; and the young men, one hundred forty-one in number, were ordered to march first on board the vessels. With frenzied despair they refused to be separated from their parents and companions; and at the point of the bayonet obedience was enforced. Women and children knelt by the way through which they passed, some singing the hymn of farewell, others weeping and praying for blessings on their heads. Next the fathers, one hundred nine in number, were commanded to embark; and eighty-nine obeyed. Then — most dreadful of all — mothers and little ones were told they must wait until fresh transports arrived. December came before they left; but where should they find those from whom they had been separated?

Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. ii., pp. 201-204.

and the deer,— a trackless and untrodden maze of primeval forest. With the limited number of scouts on service, the savage, with eye and ear of a wild animal, was as elusive and invisible as the shyest of the woodland denizens.

These depredations were indicative of a considerable force of savages operating in small bands dispersed over a considerable area, and a definite plan of hunting down the perpetrators of these outrages was formulated. Three hundred men were divided into four parties. Fifty scouted from Lebanon River to Saco; sixty were sent into the woods extending from Saco to New Boston (Gray), by way of Sebago Lake and New Gloucester; while between New Boston and Fort Shirley, at Frankfort, a patrol of ninety swept the outskirts of the settlements along that tier of towns. From Fort Shirley one hundred men patrolled as far as St. Georges River (Thomaston). These men were enlisted for a term of five months. The program was fulfilled, but no Indians were discovered.

The Tarratines were quiescent, still maintaining a safe neutrality. They may have been impelled by policy in abstaining from interfering with the white settler. By situation they could be readily attacked and their villages destroyed, so well toward the Penobscot were the English settlements extended, all of which were fairly protected by forts and blockhouses. There were forts at Muscongus and Meduncook, at Pleasant Point,

north St. Georges River at the Narrows above the garrison. Most of the settlers lived in blockhouses, which could be destroyed only by fire.

These fortified places could but inspire the Penobscots with a sense of their inability to cope with a people so well established, and who, likewise, had become well trained to a life of hardihood and danger. The average English settler was a backwoodsman, and not less fertile in woodcraft and subtle expedient than his red brother of the woods. It was only by a ruse or surprise that he was to be overcome; and as the savage had a wholesome dread of the English bullet, so he had due regard of getting in the way of it.

There were indications that the Tarratines were as anxious for peace as the English; but there was the tie of race to hold them to the savages who were openly making war upon their white neighbors. They were, as well, being constantly plied by the French emissaries who came among them from time to time with messages from Montreal, urging them to dig up the hatchet and join their fortunes with the French. The Tarratines delayed coming to any definite agreement with the English, who were urgent that they should not only agree to an alliance, but that it should be an active one. Finally, on November 5, 1755, the English declared war against the Tarratines; which from this far distance does not commend itself as founded in wisdom or in the interest of the settler, if such was

designed to protect. The power of the Tarratines was broken. Their great war-leaders, such as Toxus, were dead. They had nothing to gain by antagonizing the English, but everything to lose; but the English desired nothing so much as the extermination of the Indians, at whatever cost, and to embarrass and intimidate the savage the Massachusetts province sent into the eastern country three hundred troops, to guard the winter frontier.

In the direction of the New York border the failure of the English to dislodge the French from Crown Point gave courage to the savages to raid the settlements on the Connecticut Valley frontier, which was open to their depredations its entire length. Between the St. Francis River and the Connecticut was a waterway which afforded easy portages, which had marked for many savage generations a familiar trail to the eastward. It was an easy and most natural happening for the savages of the St. Francis country to cross over to the New Hampshire border, where they could, unheralded, fall upon the unsuspecting settler and, after loading themselves with scalps, prisoners, and booty, retire the way they came. They scoured the Connecticut Valley at their will, and this summer of 1755 they first appeared at New Hopkinton, where they came upon a man and a boy; but before they could complete their capture a party of English wood-rangers surprised them, and the savages disappeared as suddenly as they came.

June 11 of this year Moses Rice (the first to settle at what is now Charlemont) went into his field to hoe corn. His son Artemas, a grandson, Asa, and a boy by the name of Titus went along. There were some logs at the beginning of the corn-rows and against these they laid their guns. Phineas Arms, a Deerfield soldier, went with Rice as a picket. While the men wrought Arms patrolled the rim of the corn-field.

When they were at the further end of the field, away from their guns, a party of Indians attacked them suddenly. Arms and Moses Rice were killed. The two boys were captured. Artemas Rice escaped to Taylor's fort.

From New Hopkinton the Indians made their way to Keene, where they captured Benjamin Twitchell, June 30.[1] Going on to Walpole, they shot Daniel Twitchell and a man whose name was Flint.[2] In the same neighborhood they met Colonel Bellows, with twenty scouts. There were of the Indians not less than fifty. A sharp skirmish ensued, in which a number of the Indians were killed; but Colonel Bellows, realizing his danger, led his little

[1] Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 635.

[2] They had gone back to the hills, about a mile east from the settlement, to procure some timber for oars. One of them was scalped; the other they cut open and took out his heart, cut it in pieces and laid them on his breast. Their bodies were buried near where they were found; and a ridge of land, the

company through their lines and got into the fort, which was near-by, without one of his men getting a scar.[1]

The savages remained in the vicinity, to be joined in a few days by another party, which raised their numbers to one hundred seventy men. An immediate attack was made upon the garrison of John Kilborn. Its only inmates were himself, a man by the name of John Peak, two boys, and

west side of the road, about two miles north of Walpole village, towards Drewsville, points out the spot hallowed by the remains of the first victims of Indian massacre in the town of Walpole.

N. H. Hist. Coll., vol. ii., pp. 51, 52.

The fort at Keene was defended by Capt. William Symes. The Indians were repulsed and driven off.

Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 636.

[1] It appears that Colonel Bellows and his men were returning home, each having a bag of meal on his back. From the motions of the dogs they suspected the near approach of the enemy. The colonel ordered all his men to throw off the meal, advance to an eminence before them, carefully crawl up the bank, spring upon their feet, give one whoop, and then drop into the sweet fern. This manœuver had the desired effect; for as soon as the whoop was given the Indians all rose from their ambush in a semicircle around the path Bellows was to follow. His men immediately fired, which so disconcerted the plans and expectations of the Indians that they darted away into the bushes without firing a gun. Finding their number too great for his, the colonel ordered his men to file off to the south and make for the fort.

N. H. Hist. Coll., vol. ii., pp. 55, 56.

several women. Notwithstanding the savages made a furious assault upon the place, the inmates maintained a successful defence, and compelled the savages to retire discomfited, with a considerable loss to themselves.[1] Belknap says, "Some of these Indians joined Dieskau's army and were in the battle of St. George."

[1] The defence of Kilburn's garrison, of which a particular account is given in *N. H. Hist. Coll.*, vol. ii., pp. 55-57, was one of the most heroic and successful efforts of personal courage and valor recorded in the annals of Indian warfare. The number of Indians was about two hundred,— some accounts say four hundred,— against whom John Kilburn, his son John, in his eighteenth year, John Peak and his son, and the wife and daughter of Kilburn, were obliged to contend for their lives. The leader of the Indians, named Philip, was well acquainted with Kilburn; and, having approached near the garrison and secured himself behind a tree, called to those in the house to surrender. "Old John, young John," said he, "I know you, come out here. We give you good quarter." "Quarter!" vociferated Kilburn, with a voice of thunder; "you black rascals, begone, or we 'll quarter you." The Indians soon rushed forward to the attack, but were repulsed by Kilburn and his men, who were aided by the females in running bullets and in loading their guns, of which they had several in the house. All the afternoon one incessant firing was kept up till near sundown, when the Indians began to disappear; and as the sun sunk behind the western hills the sound of the guns and the cry of the war-whoop died away in silence. Peak, by an imprudent exposure before the port-hole, received a ball in his hip, which, for want of surgical aid, proved fatal on the fifth day.

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, pp. 314, 315, note.

The savages beset Number-Four about this time, where they killed many cattle. They went down the river to Hinsdale, and coming across a party of lumbermen in the woods, they crept upon them as they were chopping down the trees. They shot John Hardiclay and John Alexander. They captured one of the men, Jonathan Colby, but the remainder of the party escaped to the fort.[1] They skulked about this neighborhood for several days, until they succeeded in ambushing Caleb Howe, Hilkiah Grout, and Benjamin Gaffield as they were going home after a day's work in the fields. Gaffield, in attempting to escape, was drowned in the river; but Grout got away entirely.[2] The savages then went to Bridgeman's fort, where these men kept their families. The people in the fort heard the guns, and, anticipating the men would be coming on the run for shelter, and anxious for their

[1]Colonel Hinsdale's wife, who was at Hinsdale, in a postscript to a letter concerning other matters, wrote her husband:

"Hardiclay was found dead on the spot, with both his breasts cut off and his heart laid open. One of the inhabitants was found within 60 rods of the fort and both scalped. We fired several larums and the great gun at Fort Dummer was shot. Thirty men from Northfield came to our assistance and helped to bury the dead. They followed the Indians, found Colby's track, who was barefoot. They found no blood, which gives reason to think Colby is well. The rest escaped to the fort. ABIGAIL HINSDALE."

Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 638.

[2]Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 315.

safety, hearing footsteps outside the fort gate, made haste to open it — only to let in a horde of savages, who by that ruse were able to capture the families of the three men, the number of whom was fourteen. Gaffield's wife was sold to the French. From Montreal she was sent to England, and from England to Boston. Caleb Howe's wife was known as the "fair captive," who is mentioned at some length in Humphrey's *Life of Putnam*.[1]

So the year closed in New Hampshire; but in Maine the savage was an ever-present factor. Fort Halifax was an object of extreme irritation to the Canibas. They resented its existence as an intrusion upon their territory, and were ever hovering about the locality. It was in the late year two of the men from the fort went out upon the river, probably after salmon. As they were fishing — and in those days the Kennebec was a famous salmon-river — four savages stole upon them until within gunshot. One of the fishermen was mortally wounded; but the sound of the musket-shots aroused the men in the garrison, who came upon the savages so suddenly that they took to their heels and were quickly lost in the surrounding woods.[2]

With the Indians the fort at the St. Georges

[1] Sheldon gives the date as June 27, 1755.
Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 636.

[2] Williamson, vol. ii., p. 328.

River was a no less unpalatable object.[1] The place had been marked for destruction; but so far the savages had been balked in their designs by the alertness of the garrison. The settlers had begun to keep dogs that were especially trained as Indian-hunters, and the sagacity of these animals was often the salvation of the settlers. Here, near the mouth of the St. Georges River, was the house of Benjamin Burton[2] (in Cushing). It was known as Burton's fort. It was strongly fortified, and was impregnable to any ordinary attack. Burton was a prudent and watchful man, and never took any chances of a surprise on the part of the savages. He got a good living by cultivating his scanty tillage-lands, raising good crops of potatoes, which, with the fishing on the river, and the clam-flats, gave him an abundance. He no sooner heard of the outbreak of the war of 1754 than he procured a pack of Newfoundland dogs. When any one left the fort, it was never without taking along a half-dozen of these stalwart animals, that had been trained to range a gunshot's distance on either side and in front of the venturesome individual, so the Indians might be nosed out and surprised, instead of the man. These dogs were never interfered with by the savages, as a gunshot would altogether destroy their chances against the settler;

[1] Eaton's *Warren.*

[2] *History of Warren.*

but the dogs always gave timely notice of the lurking savages, and the fort was always reached in time. It was one of these days that found Burton, his wife, and four children at some distance from the fort. The dogs had kept them company. It was not long before the animals had scented the savage intruders, and they gave quick mouth to their discovery. Burton, who was a powerful man, got one of the children upon his back, and with another under each arm, while his wife carried the fourth, they made a run for the garrison, which they reached in safety. Williamson says Burton was caught in the ice in his boat while out on the St. Georges River, in 1762, and was frozen to death at a time when the snow covered the ground to the depth of four feet.[1] It was this same Burton who had a skirmish with a band of Tarratines when he was truck-master at Fort St. Georges, in which he severed the head of the Tarratine sachem, Captain Morris, from his shoulders with a single blow of his sword, Captain Sam being killed by another of his party at the same time. Another sachem, Captain Job, was captured and sent to Boston, where he died in the common jail. Morris's death was welcomed by the settlers, as he was a terror to the English frontier. Morris's son made his threats that he would have Burton's life, for the accomplishment of which he never found opportunity.[2]

[1] *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. vii., p. 327.

[2] Williamson, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. vii., p. 326.

In February of 1755 the savages were in the neighborhood of Gorhamtown, where they captured Joseph Knight; but he went only as far as the Androscoggin River with his captors. He had been captured once before, in the raid upon the Presumpscot settlers (1747), and had some acquaintance with their language; so that, on this second misfortune, when he heard the savages discussing an intended attack upon the frontier from Saco to Brunswick, he determined to make his escape. In the following May he managed to get away from the camp of the savages on the Androscoggin River and, making his way through the woods to North Yarmouth, he spread the alarm of the intended raid.[1] The settlements were notified and the savages were unable to do any harm.[2] This was undoubtedly the expedition which was planned that same winter in Montreal to operate against the settlements on the Kennebec. The next day (March 11, 1756), after Knight came in, Captain Milk, with forty men, and Captain Ilsley, with another company, along with Captain Skillin, with

[1] McLellan, *History of Gorham*, p. 606.

[2] "(1756) May 3. This morning we are alarmed with young Knights, who escaped from the Indians three days ago, and got to North Yarmouth this morning, who brings news of one hundred and twenty Indians coming upon the frontier who are to spread themselves in small scouts from Brunswick to Saco."

Smith's *Journal*, p. 165.

another, went out upon a scouting-expedition after the savages. Captain Smith, with a reënforcement from North Yarmouth, was joined by the company from New Casco, with Knight as a guide. They went to a place where he had left three Indian women, it being the place where the savages had stored their beaver-pelts. They scoured the woods about North Yarmouth and New Casco, but came upon nothing.[1] It was the usual success. The forest was too dense and covered too great an area for any considerable body of men to find them out. In the eluding of their hunters the savage was most successful, for hardly had the scouting-party got off than the news came into Falmouth that the savages had been at North Yarmouth, where they had killed a settler, whose story is here related.

At Flying Point, early in the morning, the savages came upon the cabin of a settler by the name of Maines. They broke in the door. The family were all in their beds. Maines was killed at once. The wife, with a babe in her arms, attempted to escape; but the child was shot, its little body stopping the bullet. In the chamber overhead a man sleeping there was awakened by the uproar, and, getting his gun, opened fire on the savages. He killed one, at which the others became afraid to remain longer within the reach of their unseen enemy, and left on the run. Once the savages were

[1] Smith's *Journal*, p. 165.

out of the house the door was barred, which proved the safety of the man and woman, as they afterward succeeded in getting to the garrison. Molly Finney, who was captured, was taken to Canada.[1] One of the Maines girls hid in the ash-hole, and thus escaped.

This was May 6, 1756. Three days before the attack on the Maines house at Flying Point three well-armed men took the trail from Harpswell to Brunswick. On their way over they were not disturbed; but as they were returning, in the late afternoon, reaching Smith's Brook, as they dropped

[1] Smith's *Journal*, p. 165.

A story is told of an exploit of Edward Cloutman (Cloudman), who had charge of the first sawmill at Presumpscot Lower Falls, the same built by Colonel Thomas Westbrook in 1735. Cloudman was a man, tall and of great strength, his weight being around two hundred twenty pounds. He was noted as an athlete in the rude games of the times, and many tales are told of his prowess. It is said that he was accustomed to throw all the boards from the medium-sized pine logs to the brow of the mill and over. Another tradition is that he was able to break off pieces of pine board "like chunks of cheese." Cloudman was accustomed to run the mill all night; and while alone in the mill one night in 1741 he saw an Indian creeping up with his gun, who twice attempted to fire at him, but his gun snapped and missed fire. Cloudman hurled at the Indian the bar used for placing the log on the carriage. It hit him on the head, killing him instantly. He then threw the body into the wheel-pit, shut down the mill, and went home. The night following, the Indians burned the mill. Cloudman, with his wife and little son Timothy, packed

down the gully, they were ambushed. The Indians were hidden in the bushes. One of the English was wounded and taken captive. The other two threw away their guns and ran. The savages gave chase, but, coming out into a clearing where there was a fortified house, they stopped in their pursuit and the fleeing white men escaped. Returning to the wounded man, whose name was Young, they bound him and carried him to Canada.[1]

A large blockhouse had been built at Gloucester. Its position was much exposed to savage attack, and the government, to keep the settlers at that place, paid them to remain. It was necessary that these outposts should be maintained, as the appearance of the savages was more likely to be discovered and the larger communities were more certain to be warned by them. They were, in a way, the pickets of the larger settlements, like North Yarmouth and its sister towns up and down

their goods in a canoe and paddled down the river, and around what is now Portland, to Stroudwater. He removed to Gorhamtown in 1745. His house was near Fort Hill.

McLellan, *History of Gorham*, p. 433.

For an account of the attack on Thomas Maines (Wheeler gives it "Means"), *vide* Wheeler's *History of Brunswick*, p. 67. The Finney girl was taken to Quebec, from which place she was aided to escape by Captain McLellan, of Falmouth, whom she afterward married.

[1] Wheeler, *History of Brunswick*, p. 66.

Pejepscot Papers.

the Presumpscot. This frontier post was maintained through the war.

It was this same month (Williamson makes it May 14, and Parson Smith for the once agrees with him) that the settlers had a brief meeting with the savages at New Marblehead. It happened in the morning, about eight o'clock. A man by the name of Brown had a farm about a mile from the fort. He was anxious to get on with his planting, leaving the fort with ten men, an ox-team, and a sled. One of the men who went along with Brown was named Winship. They were some distance ahead, and when Brown came to the bars that opened into his field he was about removing them, to make way for the ox-team. Behind the fence were twenty savages in ambush, under the lead of the Sokoki sachem, Poland. In a moment the guns of the savages broke the silence, and Brown was dead, while Winship got a shot in the arm. The savages, thinking the latter dead, scalped him, as they did Brown. The men coming after heard the gunshots. They hastened until very near to the place where the two men lay, when Abraham Anderson and Stephen Manchester, the latter a veteran backwoodsman, got down upon their hands and knees and crept silently along until they were sheltered by a huge log. Manchester elevated his hat on the muzzle of his gun. There was a puff of smoke from the field-fence and the hat had disappeared. It was Poland, who turned to reload

his musket. In a moment Manchester was on his feet. There was another ringing shot, and the sachem had met with the same fate he had meted out to Brown. With a yell the savages broke cover and made a dash for the woods, taking their dead sachem with them. The bodies of Brown and the wounded man were placed on the sled and the party returned to the fort. An alarm-gun fired from the fort brought a squad of soldiers from Saccarappa, and with the men of New Marblehead they pursued the savages that night, to come upon an Indian at a place called Great Meadows. The latter had two guns and two packs. When the soldiers shot him he fell flat, and a moment later was on his feet and running like a deer. More bullets were sent after him, but he got off. The guns and the packs were left behind and fell into the hands of the English. One gun was that of Poland, as was one of the packs.[1]

Manchester was a man of great courage. He was an Indian-fighter and knew all the tricks of the savages. He knew Poland, and more than once had determined to kill him on sight. He once went to Poland's camp for that purpose; but he found the odds too great, as there were several of Poland's tribe attending on their sachem. Poland claimed all the land along the Presumpscot to the sea, and he had no love for the English.[2]

[1] McLellan, *History of Gorham.*

[2] After the peace it was learned that a tree was bent until its

Parson Smith notes, September 26, news had come in that Fort St. Georges had been attacked by a large force, which proved to be a canard; but a schooner was burned and three men had been killed. Two others were captured. They made their appearance at Arrowsic, where they killed a man by the name of Preble, and his wife. Three of their children were taken to Canada. At the lower end of the island was a fort. A strong force of Indians appeared before the place; but the fort was maintained successfully against the assault, and the savages vented their revenge upon the cattle on the island, killing all they could find.

So far, Fort Halifax had not been attacked. The Indians were continually prowling about the Kennebec woods, but the garrison was so careful that in 1756 no one belonging to it had been shot, except the one salmon-fisher. Many of the English had been killed or captured about the settlements. They were constantly fearful; so many of the outlying farms had been abandoned. There was safety nowhere on the frontier away from the forts or blockhouses. One disaster followed another,

roots on one side were uplifted so Poland's body could be pushed underneath them. Then the tree was sprung back to its former upright position. One of his arms was cut off, to be taken to some Catholic burying-place so that it could be deposited in holy ground.

Williamson, vol. ii., p. 322.

and it was in this year the crops were devoured by pests and the harvests were so scanty as to cause grave apprehension, and in some places actual want. Trade had declined and the local industries were almost at a standstill. The outlook for the settlers was wholly discouraging.

Even the eastern savages were despondent. They had been neglected by the French. They were wasted by war, and constantly kept on the move by the English scouting-parties. A heavy price had been put upon their heads. Their numbers had been decimated by smallpox, and their excursions were everywhere checked. The English were on the alert everywhere, and the year had brought them nothing but increased apprehensions and doubts of their safety.

Over on the Connecticut River the Indians came down upon the border settlements sufficiently often so that the settlers up and down the river were kept in a constant state of alarm. The war to the westward had gone on with fruitless results to the English, and the Indians were let loose to rove the woods in small parties that here or there played sudden havoc of death, captivity, and disaster. They came out of the woods in the neighborhood of Number-Four, where they succeeded in killing Lieutenant Moses Willard, and wounding his son.[1]

[1] This was June 19, 1756.
Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 644.

They went into Winchester, where they raided the house of Josiah Foster, capturing the whole family of four.[1] They went up river to Hinsdale, where they shot at and wounded Zebulon Stebbins just as he, with his companion Reuben Wright, had discovered their ambush, by which he enabled several others to escape whom the savages were intending to waylay.[2]

The savages were chary about meeting the New Hampshire men, who had gained a reputation not only of being hardy and agile, but also of being expert backwoodsmen whose guns were fatal.

[1]A raid was made on Bow, June 7, 1756, where Josiah Fisher and his wife were captured.

Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 644

On July 13, at Hoosac, Sergeant Chidchester and his son James were killed by the savages. Captain Elisha Chapin was captured. There were a hundred savages ambushed in the vicinity of this tragedy, and they were evidently officered by Frenchmen.

Ibid.

[2]On August 23 following the Hindale episode, Shubal Atherton, Nathaniel Brooks, Benjamin Hastings, Daniel Graves, and his son John Graves were out harvesting grain near Green River. They had leaned their guns against a stack of flax before going to work. The savages, who happened to discover them, got between these settlers and their guns, and, rising quickly, sent a volley of bullets against the harvesters. None were hit and all made instant effort to escape. Hastings and John Graves got away. Atherton was shot. The others were captured.

Ibid, p. 645.

So adept had these New Hampshire men become that when the Rogers Rangers were organized, under the direction of Lord Loudon, three companies for that important service were made up of men from this province. It will be remembered that it was Folsom's men whose deadly rifles turned the tide when Dieskau was defeated. These companies were given to Robert Rogers, of St. Francis fame; John Stark and William Stark, who once went hunting in Bakers-town Stream. Belknap says, "They were eminently useful in scouring the woods, procuring intelligence, and skirmishing with detached parties of the enemy." These Rangers served through the war.

The averted tragedy at Hinsdale and that at Country Farms, near Green River, were the last raids of 1756 along the New Hampshire border. That the onslaughts of the savages were confined to the extreme eastern frontier of Maine and the western border of New Hampshire is suggestive. Evidently the Indians of northern New Hampshire and western Maine had left their old habitats, and their remnants had become merged with more remote tribes. The Canibas had no abiding-place on the Kennebec. The Pigwackets had been annihilated. Even the Pennacooks had disappeared. Only the Penobscots were to be found in their old habitats, who were already making overtures to Captain Bradbury, at Fort St. Georges, for a renewal of their former friendly footing. Of those

hostile savages nearest the Maine settlers, the Anasaguntacooks, who had their villages about the secluded headwaters of the Androscoggin, were openly defiant. They claimed all the country watered by that river, and were undoubtedly guilty of the raids along the frontier from the Kennebec to Royall's River (North Yarmouth). On May 18, 1757, they waylaid Captain Lithgow and eight men in the neighborhood of Topsham Fort, near Brunswick. It became a sharp skirmish, in which two of Lithgow's men were wounded. Two of the savages were shot and carried off by their party, who took refuge in flight. Two men were killed further up river, probably by this same band.[1]

With the opening of the spring of 1757 the Tarratines had sent several flags of truce into the fort at St. Georges — so many, in fact, as to suggest to the minds of the St. Georges people a possible ruse to discover an opportunity to take the fort by

[1] Sewall, *Ancient Dominions of Maine*, vol. ii., pp. 320, 325.
Williamson's *History of Maine*, vol. ii., p. 306.
Wheeler, *History of Brunswick*, p. 68.

Not long after this disaster to Lithgow two Brunswick men were going to Maquoit for salt hay. They were ambushed by the savages. John Malcom was fortunate enough to escape, but the other, Daniel Eaton, got a bullet in his wrist, and was captured. He was taken to Canada, where he was held nearly a year. His father was Moses Eaton, who was killed by the savages at Pleasant Point, 1722. The Sachem Sabattis was at the head of the party capturing Eaton.
Wheeler's *Brunswick*, p. 68.

a surprise; but more likely the object was to get some inkling of the plans of the English.

One evening of that springtime some Indians came into the fort, ostensibly to traffic. Before they left they had manifested some apprehension that they might be molested on the way to their village; but they were told they had nothing to fear from the St. Georges men, but to keep a keen look-out for the sharp-shooters at the blockhouse somewhat up the river, which was in charge of Captain Kellock. Captain Bradbury told the Tarratines he would not be responsible for anything they might do, again urging upon them great watchfulness if they wished to avoid trouble.

They left the fort and went up stream as far as the "Gig" (in Thomaston), where they camped for the rest of the night. As a precaution, the savages left one of their packs some little way down the trail, with the expectation, if it came to the attention of the patrol from the blockhouse, it would check their progress. To make pursuit more favorable to themselves, they left one of their party in ambush to watch the pack, who, if danger threatened, was to fire his gun as an alarm by which they would have warning and a better chance of escape.

In the night the man at the head of the patrol from the blockhouse stumbled upon the pack in the darkness, which, from its shape, he knew to belong to some Indian. He gripped the next man behind, and the sign was passed to the length of

the file in that manner. It was the signal for a halt. As they stood listening, in the darkness, they heard a singular noise close by, which proved to be the snoring of the Indian sentinel who had been left behind to watch the telltale pack. The Indian had undoubtedly drunk too much of Captain Bradbury's fire-water, and was sleeping off his *occapee*. One of the patrol, locating the snore of the savage, aimed his musket point-blank at this singular target and, by a chance shot, put a bullet through the head of the sleeper. The savage gave a leap into the air and fell back into the underbrush, dead. His companions heard the shot, and getting too near the patrol, a skirmish began. The darkness was almost impenetrable, and it was only when a gun-flash lighted the woodland shadows for a moment that another flash followed, and the bullets sped, altogether by chance. Kellock's gun-lock was shot off, but that was the only harm occasioned to the English. The savages decamped after a while, some of whom must have been severely wounded; as, the following day, when a party from the blockhouse went out to look over the scene of the night skirmish, they found some blood-stains on the leaves; but how seriously the savages were affected they had no means of knowing, as it was the custom of the former to carry off their dead and wounded, to keep them from falling into the hands of the enemy. They found quite a quantity of beaver and some muskets; so that, upon a divi-

sion, each man got some fifteen pounds as his share of the stuff left behind by the savages.

June 1 of this year the Indians paddled over to Matinicus Island, where they attacked the house of Ebenezer Hall. His family was made up of his wife, two sons, three daughters, and a son-in-law. Hall made a stout defence, which he kept up for several days. He knew something of soldiering, having been in the Cape Breton fight. A chance shot coming through a port-hole killed him. The attack began the first day of June, and it was on the tenth he was shot. After that, the house door was broken in, and the savages began plundering the premises. After scalping Hall, they set fire to the house, and the wife and children were taken to Canada. It does not appear that the son-in-law was at home at that time, as he is not mentioned as having been active in the defence, which seems to have been carried on by Hall alone.

When the party got part way up the Penobscot, probably near the headwaters of that stream, they divided, taking their way to Canada by different routes. The captives were also divided into two parties, the mother going one way and the children another. Mrs. Hall was a somewhat handsome woman, and her fairness stood her in good stead; for her ransom was paid by Captain Andrew Watkins. The sum was two hundred fifteen livres. He found her a passage to England, from whence she made her way back to Falmouth, by way of New

York, thirteen months after. All traces of her children were lost, as they were never after heard of, nor could any information of them be obtained.

The son of one Greene was in the house when the attack began. He managed to escape into the woods, where he remained in hiding until the savages left the island. Three days after, he came upon an old canoe, in which he put out into the bay, where he was shortly after picked up by a coasting-vessel.

There had been a rumored expedition of a considerable force of French and Indians to be sent against the forts on the Kennebec[1] this summer; but it did not appear. The rumor was sufficient to keep the settlers on the alert. One Captain Waldo came into Falmouth, in June, with a terrifying story of a French fleet that was on its way to destroy the Atlantic towns, and the Provincials listened with throbbing hearts, for the French were carrying everything before them to the westward. Parson Smith notes, June 20: "The people appear quite discouraged and disconsolate."

This was a year of exceeding dryness. There was no rain, and the crops were burning up; and on June 21 a public fast was held on account of the drouth and apprehensions of the attack of the French fleet, and "many disappointments and threatening impending judgments."

[1]Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. ii., p. 208.

Evidently the Indians did not trouble the outside settlements, as Parson Smith, in his *Journal* for 1757, does not mention the appearance of the savages, after taking note, on May 18, of the skirmish of Captain Lithgow with the savages at Topsham, and the escape of a man and the killing of two others "seventy miles up Ammeriscoggin." This latter entry is May 30.

Over in New Hampshire the military were busy getting ready to aid in the projected Crown Point expedition. A regiment was raised, a part of which, commanded by Meserve, was sent to Halifax; while still another detachment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe, was ordered by General Webb to rendezvous at Number-Four. While Goffe and his men were on their way to Number-Four a considerable number of French and Indians came upon the settlement. They attacked the mills and captured three men,— Sampson Colfax, David Farnsworth, and Thomas Adams.[1] The enemy must have

[1] Ezekiel Flanders and Edward Emery were killed by the Indians when hunting beavers by New-found Pond, between Bristol and Hebron, in the county of Grafton. The Indians afterwards informed that one of them was shot when skinning a beaver in a camp, and the other shot at the same time, in sight of the camp, bringing in a beaver on his back. The next year, Moses Jackman, of Boscawen, was taken captive while on a visit at Mr. Clough's in Canterbury. He returned after a captivity of four years.

Price, *History of Boscawen*, pp. 114, 115.

Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 649.

discovered the approach of Goffe, as they left the place without further depredation. The settlers, hearing the guns at the mills, hastened to the place, but, finding the Indians in force, got back to the fort. The savages burned the mills, and as they were making to the westward they came upon Thomas Robbins and Asa Spafford, whom they captured.

Goffe, a few days after, marched his men through Number-Four, to keep on to Albany. They were at once posted at Fort William Henry. Eighty of these were butchered in the massacre that followed the capitulation of Colonel Munroe to Montcalm, August 9, 1757.[1]

[1] *Massachusetts Records*, Order of August 5, 1757: "for all and every one of his majestie's well affected subjects, able to bear arms, to repair to Fort Edward, on the Hudson, to serve with General Webb for the relief of Fort William Henry, which still stands out fighting against a large and numerous body of the enemy."

Letter of Worthington, of August 6.

Order of Pownall to Israel Williams, of August 6.

Second *Letter* of Pownall, of August 7, etc., in Williams *MSS.*, vol. ii., pp. 31-33.

Letter of N. Whiting, of August 23, giving an account of the taking of the fort, *ibid*, vol. ii., p. 42.

Review of Pitt's Administration, p. 38.

Pouchot's *Mems.*, vol. i., pp. 101-107.

Walpole to Sir H. Mann, October 12, 1757.

Hutchinson, vol. iii., pp. 58-61.

Minot, vol. ii., pp. 21-23.

Grahame, vol. ii.

Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 651.

The defeats of the year 1756, including the loss of Oswego,[1] were not especially encouraging to New England. The French were victorious everywhere. The British soldiers were only so many targets, while their commanders, from Lord Loudon down, were a set of most incompetent officers. By some historians the former is described as "pusillanimous."

Fort Edward was the only outpost of the English between Albany and the French at the foot of Lake Champlain; but the French, for some reason, were content with their success, and the larger part of their army returned to Canada; so General Webb was left undisturbed at Fort Edward. The two hundred fifty New Hampshire men who had been enlisted for Fort Edward, under command of Major Tash, remained at Number-Four. This was the first important force stationed here.

[1] *Journal H. of R.* for 1756, pp. 157, 164, 172.
Winslow's *MS. Journal*, vol. iii., pp. 41, 42, 55, 56, 142-148.
Pouchot's *Mems.*, vol. i., pp. 70, 81.
Stirling's *Vindication*, pp. 110-116.
1 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vii., pp. 37, 158.
Hutchinson, vol. iii.
Minot, vol. i., pp. 285, 287.
Smith's *New York*, vol. ii., pp. 239, 240.
Bancroft, vol. iv., pp. 237-239.
Rogers's *Journal*, pp. 33, 34, 37.
Johnson *MSS.* in *Documentary History of New York*, vol. ii., p. 732.
Parson's *Life of Pepperrell*, pp. 290, 291.

The Indians made no further raids this year, and brighter days were in store. The great Pitt had been recalled to the British Ministry.[1] He at once set about measures to retrieve the English losses in America.[2] He issued a circular letter to the colonial governors. It was a call for troops. The British were to operate against the French by sea and land, and he urged the colonies to raise as large a quota of combatants as the "number of the inhabitants might allow." It was left to the colonies to make up their regimental formations and to officer them. The Crown would furnish arms, ammunition, provisions, tents, and all necessary equipment, even to the boats. The colonies were to buy clothes and pay their own men, to which expenditures Parliament would be asked to make some adequate contribution.

The measure of the New England Colonies had been crowded to the brim with disappointments

[1] *Review of Pitt's Administration*, pp. 10, 14, 16.
1 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vii.
Trumbull *MSS.*, vol. i., p. 121.
History of the War, p. 110.
Bancroft, vol. iv., p. 247.

[2] *History of the War*, pp. 114-117.
Grenville *Correspondence*, vol. i., pp. 195, 196.
Chatham *Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 236.
Lord Mahon's *History of England*, vol. i., pp. 338, 344.
"From this period," says the editor of the Chatham *Correspondence*, "commenced the brilliant era justly called Mr.

and losses,[1] yet the requisition was cheerfully met, and new regiments were raised and disposed of to the west, under Abercrombie, or to the eastward, under Amherst. To the eastward, Louisburg was the objective; to the westward, the French strongholds of Ticonderoga, Frontenac, and Duquesne. Throughout the year of 1758 the savages hovered along the New England frontier. Roving bands were continually prowling just within the rim of the woodlands that hemmed in the settler's cabin or his tillage-lands.

It was the surveillance of the wild beast. Not a movement of the more adventurous pioneer but was savored with the tang of danger. They came into Hinsdale, where they devastated the home of Captain Moore by killing him and his son, to carry the remainder of the family to Canada. At Number-Four, Asahel Stebbins shared the fate of Moore, while his wife and one Isaac Parker, a soldier, were captured.[2] The Number-Four settlers pastured their cattle in the woods. They ranged at will, far

Pitt's Administration;" "the greatest and most glorious, perhaps," adds Lord Mahon, "that England had ever yet known."

Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. ii., p. 226, note.

[1] Smith's *New York*, vol. ii., pp. 245-249.

[2] This was August 25, 1758.

Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 657.

The last outrage of the savages in this war in the Connecticut Valley seems to have taken place at Colrain, when

or near, for the openings were of scant area. In them the settlers had their cabins. Here, too, were the patches of maize and potatoes, and the barley for their bread. There was no room for the herds, so they were turned loose to forage the woods, where they were at the mercy of the savages, who found in them an easy and abundant supply for their larder. The killing of cattle[1] and the destruction of some few corn-fields rounded out the minor depredations of 1758, for the English were engaging the French so vigorously east and west that they had need of all their savage allies; notwithstanding which, the frontier was in a state of constant apprehension. The savage was at hand when least expected, an animate sword of Damocles.

General Forbes was scouring the Ohio Valley. Fort Duquesne had been fired by its retreating

Joseph McKoun, his wife and child, were waylaid and captured about sunset of March 20, 1759, as they were going home from Daniel Donitson's.

Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 658.

[1]March 21, 1758, the savages were at Colrain, where they attacked Morrison's fort. They wounded John Morrison; also John Henry; killed several cattle and sheep, upon which they gorged themselves. After their repast of roasted mutton, they fired a few volleys at the fort and then withdrew, to loiter in the immediate neighborhood for some little time after.

Ibid, p. 655.

garrison.[1] The original cause of the contention that brought on the French and Indian War was destroyed, and the Ohio Valley was under the control of Lieutenant-Colonel Washington.

Abercrombie was less successful at Ticonderoga, but the fifteen thousand regulars and provincials in the neighborhood of Lake George had attracted to that quarter all the French forces available. At the critical moment, Abercrombie, stricken with the "extremest fright and consternation," ordered a retrograde movement. Had the English general possessed but a tithe of the courage of Bradstreet and Stark the story of the assault on Ticon-

[1] Grenville *Correspondence*, vol. i., pp. 273-275.
Pouchot's *Mems.*, vol. i., pp. 170-177.
Review of Pitt's Administration, p. 51.
Olden Time, vol. ii., p. 284.
Public Advertiser of January 20, 1759.
Lord Mahon's *History of England*, vol. ii., p. 365 and note.
Chalmers, *Revolt*, vol. ii., p. 291.
Sparks's *Washington*, vol. ii., pp. 271-327.
Sargent's *Braddock's Expedition*, pp. 270-274.
Warburton's *Conquest of Canada*, vol. ii., pp. 103-105.
Mortimer (*History of England*, vol. iii., p. 606) says the expedition under Forbes left Philadelphia June 13, and advanced to Ray's Town, ninety miles from Fort Duquesne, whence he sent forward Bouquet, with two thousand men, to Loyal Hanna, fifty miles farther. The latter detached eight hundred men, under Major Grant, to reconnoitre, who were repulsed; upon which Forbes advanced, and the enemy retreated, etc.

deroga would have been a different one; but Abercrombie was afraid, and left his men at the time he was most needed. There were sufficient troops operating against the French to have driven them at every point had they been under the command of either Bradstreet, Stark, or Washington; but they were officered in chief by men of less than mediocre ability, whose pig-headedness was hardly less than their incompetency and their cowardice.

Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire had put fifteen thousand men into these three campaigns. Abercrombie had gone into camp at his old quarters on Lake George after his repulse at Ticonderoga, where he nursed his bad temper and his chagrin until Colonel Bradstreet, at his own request, was detached with a force of three thousand men, who were to make an attack on Fort Frontenac, at the outlet of Lake Ontario.

Bradstreet's force was made up mostly of Provincials, and, sailing down the lake, he landed within a mile of the fort, where he opened his batteries upon Fort Frontenac, which surrendered two days later. Besides this important French post, nine armed vessels, with sixty cannon, sixteen mortars, and a great store of supplies and ammunition, were captured.[1] Notwithstanding this brilliant action of Bradstreet and his men, Aber-

[1] *Letter* of William Williams, of September 8, in Williams *MSS.*, vol. ii., p. 85.

crombie's expedition may still be regarded as a failure.

At the same time Bradstreet was bombarding Fort Frontenac, Amherst was pouring a hot fire of shot and shell into Louisburg, until it was a mass of ruins; and on July 26 the place had surrendered its garrison of more than five thousand men to the English. Eleven French war-ships had been taken, with forty heavy guns and fifteen thousand stands of small arms, with an immense quantity of stores, including eleven stands of colors. Frontenac had capitulated three days later.

In the following month news was received at Boston that a large force of French and Indians were coming, by way of St. John, Passamaquoddy, and the Penobscot Rivers, to attack Fort St. Georges, which so far had proved invulnerable to the savages. Governor Pownal at once collected a small force, and, going aboard the *King George* and the sloop *Massachusetts*, set sail out of Boston for the Penobscot. He reached Fort St. Georges very opportunely, for within thirty-six hours the fort was surrounded by four hundred French and Indians. Their attack upon the fort proving abortive, they began killing the cattle of the settlers; nor did they desist until sixty had been wantonly slaughtered. From the St. Georges River they went to Meduncook, but were unable to carry the fort at that place. In the fight eight of the English were killed or captured. Williamson ob-

serves that this was the end of the Indian ravages in Maine.

The winter of 1758–59 was passed in preparing for the final conquest of Canada. Louisburg destroyed, the St. Lawrence opened up to the English a highroad from Acadia to Quebec. The English were in command of the Ohio Valley. The outlet of Lake Ontario was cut off, and the French, notwithstanding their occupancy of Crown Point, were practically isolated from all aid. They were hemmed in on all sides.

For the campaign of this year the Massachusetts province had raised nine thousand men; Connecticut, five thousand. The other eastern colonies raised the number to twenty-five thousand men. It was this year the great expedition against Quebec was to complete the entire conquest of Canada. Three powerful armies were to enter Canada by different routes. All their great fastnesses were to be attacked simultaneously. These were Crown Point and Ticonderoga, Niagara, and Quebec.

Abercrombie had been succeeded by Amherst, the victor of Louisburg. He reached Ticonderoga July 26, with eleven thousand men. Ticonderoga was abandoned without a fight. Telamarque had left every gun loaded and spiked. The fort was mined, and as the last man marched out in the silence of the night[1] the train was fired. Two nights

[1]The French retired to the Isle aux Noix, situated at the

afterward there was a mighty explosion within the walls of Ticonderoga, and the famous French stronghold, before which Abercrombie had quailed, was a mass of ruins.[1] Five days after the destruction of Ticonderoga, Crown Point was evacuated.[2]

The last position taken by the French commanded the entrance to the Richelieu River, but it was incapable of a strong defence. The second division was that under General Prideaux, advancing upon Niagara. He reached that place July 6, and at once proceeded to invest the place. July 24 was the decisive day of Prideaux's campaign, but the latter did not live to make the terms of Niagara's surrender. He was killed by the bursting of one of his own guns. Sir William Johnson, his successor in command, carried out the original plan of Prideaux. Ten days after the death of the latter

northern extremity of Lake Champlain, where they were strongly encamped with a force of three thousand five hundred men and a powerful artillery. General Amherst designed to follow up his successes against them in that quarter, but the want of a suitable naval armament prevented.

[1] Pouchot's *Mems.*, vol. ii., pp. 13, 14, 15-131.
History of the War, pp. 190-192.
Review of Pitt's Administration, p. 107.
Hutchinson, vol. iii., p. 77.
Chalmers, *Revolt*, vol. ii., p. 293.
Smith's *New York*, vol. ii., p. 275.
Rogers's *Journal*, pp. 138-142.

[2] Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, p. 235.

Niagara was in the hands of the English.[1] After this, Stanwix sent troops into the French domain, the mastery of which was held by them as far as Niagara River and Lake Erie.[2]

The latter part of June, the English fleet, under Saunders, was anchored before Quebec. By June 26 Wolfe had landed eight regiments on the Island of Orleans, numbering eight thousand men. The first attempts to reduce Quebec were unsuccessful. The Island of Orleans had been intrenched. Point Levi had been occupied. July and August had passed. Quebec was apparently impregnable from these points of attack, although the lower town had been burned, and some portion of the upper, which had been set on fire by an English shell.

The Plains of Abraham must be attained; and it was early in September that Wolfe came upon a little indent in the river where a path, narrow and precipitous, was discovered that led to the top of the precipice. A little after midnight on September 12 the boats of the English dropped silently down stream on the ebb tide, to what is now known as Wolfe's Cove, and the latter was climbing the Heights of Abraham,

"The path of glory"

that was leading him with every step nearer

"the inexorable hour"

[1] Trumbull's *Connecticut*, vol. ii., p. 371.
Bancroft, vol. iv., p. 224.

[2] *Vide ante*, note 2, p. 506.

that was not only to seal the fate of New France, but that of both Wolfe and Montcalm.

The battle was a furious one, that lasted from early midday until almost nightfall, in which both Montcalm and Wolfe were mortally wounded.[1] Five days later Quebec capitulated, and England held the key to entire Canada.[2]

[1] Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. ii., p. 238.

[2] Pouchot's *Mems.*, vol. ii., pp. 131-150.
Grenville *Correspondence*, vol. i., *passim.*
Chatham *Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 425, *et seq.*
Review of Pitt's Administration, pp. 93-106.
History of the War, pp. 171-189.
Mortimer's *England*, vol. iii., pp. 655-663.
Grahame, vol. ii.
Lord Mahon's *England*, vol. ii., pp. 381-390.
Warburton's *Conquest of Canada*, vol. ii., pp. 171–222.

The relation quoted is taken from a little old volume loaned the author by Mr. W. B. Clarke. Its title is "*A History of the United States of America.*" The title-page has disappeared, so its authorship is a mystery.

"Determined from the first to take the place (Quebec), impregnable as it was accounted, the measures of Gen. Wolfe were singularly bold, and apparently repugnant to all the maxims of war. His attention was first drawn to point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, upon which after taking possession of it, he erected batteries. By means of these he destroyed many houses, but from this point it was soon apparent that little impression could be made upon the fortifications of the town.

"Finding it impracticable thus to accomplish his purpose, Wolfe next decided on more daring measures. For the pur-

The greed of France had lost to her her Canadian territory; for with the reduction of Montreal by General Amherst, on September 8, 1760, which

pose of drawing Montcalm to a general battle, Wolfe with his troops crossed the river Montmorenci, and attacked the enemy in their entrenchments. Owing, however, to the grounding of some of the boats which conveyed the troops, a part of the detachment did not land as soon as the others. The corps that first landed, without waiting to form, rushed forward impetuously towards the enemy's entrenchments. But their courage proved their ruin. A close and well directed fire from the enemy cut them down in great numbers.

"Montcalm's party had now landed, and were drawn up on the beach in order. But it was near night, a thunder storm was approaching, and the tide was rapidly setting in. Fearing the consequences of delay, Wolfe ordered a retreat across the Montmorenci, and returned to his quarters on the Isle of Orleans. In this encounter, his loss amounted to near six hundred of the flower of his army.

"The difficulties of effecting the conquest of Quebec now pressed upon Wolfe with all their force. But he knew the importance of taking this strongest hold — he knew the expectations of his countrymen,— he well knew that no military conduct could shine that was not gilded with success.

"Disappointed thus far, and worn down with fatigue and watching, General Wolfe fell violently sick. Scarcely had he recovered, before he proceeded to put in execution a plan which had been matured on his sick bed. This was to proceed up the river, gain the heights of Abraham, and draw Montcalm to a general engagement.

"Accordingly, the troops were transported up the river about nine miles. On the 12th of Sept. one hour after midnight, Wolfe and his troops left the ships, and in boats silently

was but the sequence of the fall of Quebec, the French and Indian War had come to an end.

To hold the eastern Indians in check on the

dropped down the current, intending to land a league above Cape Diamond, and there ascend the bank leading to the station he wished to gain. Owing, however, to the rapidity of the river, they fell below the intended place, and landed a mile, or a mile and a half, above the city.

"The operation was a critical one, as they had to navigate in silence down a rapid stream, and to find a right place for landing, which amid surrounding darkness, might be easily mistaken. Besides this, the shore was shelving, and the bank so steep and lofty, as scarcely to be ascended, even without opposition from an enemy. Indeed the attempt was in the greatest danger of being defeated by an occurrence peculiarly interesting, as marking the very delicacy of the transaction.

"One of the French sentinels, posted along the shore, as the English boats were descending, challenged them in the customary military language of the French: '*Qui vit?*' 'Who goes there?' to which a captain in Frazer's regiment, who had served in Holland, and was familiar with the French language and customs, promptly replied, 'la France.' The next question was still more embarrassing, for the sentinel demanded, 'a quel regiment?' 'to what regiment?' The captain, who happened to know the name of a regiment which was up the river with Bougainville, promptly rejoined, 'de la Reine,' 'the Queen's.' The soldier immediately replied, 'passe,' for he concluded at once, that this was a French convoy of provisions, which, as the English had learned from some deserters, was expected to pass down the river to Quebec. The other sentinels were deceived in a similar manner; but one, less credulous than the rest, running down to the water's edge, called out 'Pourquois est ce que vous ne parlez plus haut?'

Penobscot frontier the erection of Fort Pownal was decided upon in the spring of 1759, and was completed shortly after. This last war had re-

'Why don't you speak louder?' The same captain, with perfect self-command, replied, 'Tais toi, nous serons entendus!' 'Hush, we shall be overheard and discovered!' The sentry, satisfied with this caution, retired, and the boats passed in safety.

"About an hour before day, the army began to ascend the precipice, the distance of one hundred and fifty or two hundred feet, almost perpendicular ascent, above which spread the plains of Abraham. By daylight, Sept. 13th, this almost incredible enterprise had been effected — the desired station was attained, the army was formed, and ready to meet the enemy.

"To Montcalm, the intelligence that the English were occupying the heights of Abraham was most surprising. The impossibility of ascending the precipice he considered certain, and therefore had taken no measure to fortify its line. But no sooner was he informed of the position of the English army, than perceiving a battle no longer to be avoided, he prepared to fight. Between nine and ten o'clock, the two armies, about equal in numbers, met face to face.

"The battle now commenced. Inattentive to the fire of a body of Canadians and Indians, one thousand five hundred of whom Montcalm had stationed in the cornfields and bushes, Wolfe directed his troops to reserve their fire for the main body of the French, now rapidly advancing. On their approach within forty yards, the English opened their fire, and the destruction became immense.

"The French fought bravely, but their ranks became disordered, and, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of their officers to form them, and to renew the attack, they were so

sulted in the almost complete annihilation of the eastern tribes. It may be said that only the Tarratines remained after eighty-five years of savage

successfully pushed by the English bayonet, and hewn down by the highland broadsword, that their discomfiture was complete.

"During the action, Montcalm was on the French left, and Wolfe on the English right, and here they both fell in the critical moment that decided the victory. Early in the battle, Wolfe received a ball in his wrist, but binding his handkerchief around it, he continued to encourage his men. Shortly after, another ball penetrated his groin; but this wound, although much more severe, he concealed, and continued to urge on the contest, till a third bullet pierced his breast. He was now obliged, though reluctantly, to be carried to the rear of the line.

"Gen. Moncton succeeded to the command, but was immediately wounded, and conveyed away. In this critical state of the action, the command devolved on Gen. Townshend. Gen. Montcalm, fighting in front of his battalion, received a mortal wound about the same time, and Gen. Jennezergus, his second in command, fell near his side.

"Wolfe died in the field, before the battle was ended; but he lived long enough to know that the victory was his. While leaning on the shoulder of a lieutenant, who kneeled to support him, he was seized with the agonies of death: at this moment was heard the distant sound, 'They fly — they fly.' The hero raised his drooping head, and eagerly asked, 'Who fly?' Being told that it was the French — 'Then,' he replied, 'I die happy,' and expired.

"'This death,' says Professor Silliman, 'has furnished a grand and pathetic subject for the painter, the poet, and the historian, and undoubtedly, considered as a specimen of

warfare along the frontier of Provincial New England, the tide of which had surged, after the War of King Philip, against the settlers whose cabins stretched from the Merrimac almost to the edge of Penobscot Bay.

It is in Governor Pownall's *Journal* of his visit to Penobscot in May of 1759, when he laid out the lines of Fort Pownal,[1] that one finds the last recorded assault of the savages in Maine. It was on the occasion of the execution of an order of Gov-

mere military glory, it is one of the most sublime that the annals of war afford.'

"Montcalm was every way worthy of being the competitor of Wolfe. In talents — in military skill — in personal courage, he was not his inferior. Nor was his death much less sublime. He lived to be carried to the city, where his last moments were employed in writing, with his own hand, a letter to the English general, recommending the French prisoners to his care and humanity. When informed that his wound was mortal, he replied, 'I shall not then live to see the surrender of Quebec.'"

[1]The four hundred men for this expedition were put under the command of a colonel, and embarkcd at Boston, May 4, 1759, though perhaps one company of them sailed from Newbury. Governor Pownall accompanied the force, kept a journal, and after deciding upon a site for the fort, reëmbarked May 26, and reached the Castle in Boston Harbor May 28. There is a paper in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, January, 1860, by Rev. Richard Pike, on "The Building and Occupancy of Fort Pownall." See also *Register*, April, 1859, p. 167.

Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. ii., p. 129, note.

ernor Pownall's by Captain James Cargill, of New Castle. He had landed on the east side of the St. Georges River, with a force of one hundred men, to go to the lower carrying-place. He was instructed by the governor: "if he met any Indians, to order them into the fort. . . . to stop all going from the fort by fair means if he cou'd, if not, by any means by force of arms." Under an entry of May 11, 1759, he writes: "And in the Morning fell upon some fresh Tracks. He left his Men, and went to trace these by himself, till he traced them to a small Camp of Indians, about Ten as proved afterward, but he thought there were but seven. He came back, took with him Lt. Preble and 10 men, ordering Four on the Right Flank, Four on the Left, and proceeded directly himself with the other, with Orders not to Fire. When he came near the Camp, he discovered himself, call'd to the Indians to come in as he expressed it, Good Quarters. The Indians started up, cryed out no Quarters, no Quarters, and Fired upon him. He then Fired, and ordered his men to Fire away. The Indians Ran — two fell, one rose again, and got off into the Swamp, — the other rose no more, and proved to be an Old Squaw."[1]

The fort was built that year, and the Abenake were ever after the apparent friends of the English. A remnant of this tribe still dwells within the sound

[1] *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. v., p. 369.

of the Penobscot waters at Oldtown, while eastward the Passamaquoddies of Pleasant Point still watch the morning dawn gild the Passamaquoddy waters.

The story of the Abenake practically ends with the surprise of the St. Francis Indians, who had been the terror of the New England frontier. General Amherst's order for the destruction of the St. Francis Mission is dated September 13, 1759. It says to Major Rogers: "You are this night to set out with the detachment as ordered yesterday, viz., of 200 men which you will take under your command and proceed to Misisquoy Bay, from whence you will march and attack the enemy's settlements on the south side of the River St. Lawrence, in such a manner as you shall judge most effectual to disgrace the enemy, and for the success and honor of his Majesty's arms. . . . Take your revenge, but don't forget that tho' those villians have dastardly and promiscuously murdered the women and children of all ages, it is my orders that no women or children are hurt."

On September 23 he had reached St. Francis. Rogers took his "revenge" the following morning. The massacre of St. Francis had passed into history.[1]

The beginning of the Indian wars (1675) found the easternmost English settler on New Meadows

[1]The capture of Quebec, which gave North America to England, had changed the relation of the Abenakis. Captain

River (Brunswick). At the close of the French and Indian War (1760) the cabin-smokes of the indomitable English adventurer drifted out over the tide-waters of St. Georges River, not far from the once domain of the elder St. Castin.

Almost a century of hostile and savage warfare had ensued, yet the English settler had advanced into the wilderness, rather than retreated. In 1760 there were some thirteen towns in the Dominion of Maine. At the breaking out of King Philip's War there were but four or five, a straggle of slender hamlets along the sheltered indents of the sea, or the edge, here or there, of some salt creek.

Kennedy, having been sent to their villages with a flag of truce, was, with his whole party, made prisoners. To chastise them for their outrage, as well as to retaliate for their continued cruelty and murders on the defenseless frontier settlements, General Amherst despatched the celebrated Major Rogers with a detachment of his rangers to the villages on the St. Francis. Just before daybreak, on the fifth of October, he surprised and killed at least two hundred Indians, and burnt all their wigwams, plunder, and effects. Rogers, in his *Journal*, says: "To my own knowledge, in six years' time, the St. Francis Indians had killed and carried into captivity on the frontiers of New England, four hundred persons; we found in the town, hanging on poles over the doors, etc., about six hundred scalps, mostly English."

Ventromile, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. vi., p. 242.

Sack of St. Francis de Sales, Drake's *White Mountains*, pp. 259-266.

Walker, *Robert Rogers, Ranger*, 1865, *Address before New England Genealogical and Historical Society.*

No one can portray the exploits, or the denial and suffering, of those days of unabated anxiety and peril, when butchery lurked behind every verdurous bush, and the lengthening shadows that lay between sunset and dawn were exaggerated into hordes of savage wraiths. With all these dangers came the gift of hardihood, the power of resistance that brooked no obstacle. It was with the women, as the men. As their experiences accumulated, they became a people without fear, not given to boasting, whose lessons had been those of silent endurance and sleepless vigilance.

Tamers of the rudest circumstance, conquerors of the wilderness, they alike had subdued, if not annihilated, the aborigine who once held these mighty areas of primeval woods by prescription. The advance pioneers of Civilization, rude and rugged like the lives they led, they were the exemplars of a Spartan simplicity, which to their descendants is folk-lore and tradition.

The Peace of Paris (1763) opened up an era of exploration and adaptation; and, despite the marvelous changes time has wrought, the roar of the waters and the soughing of the pines that once filled the ear of Walter Bagnall in his isolate cabin on Richmond's Island, or hushed the footfall of Scitterygussett, still soothe the listening sense of the idler along the Spurwink sands, or the romancer above the kelp-strewn rocks of Pemaquid.

INDEX

INDEX

Abel, slaying of, referred to, 290
Abenake, allies of Louis XIV., 12
their atrocities charged to St. Castin, 14, note
the Jesuits the instigators, 14, note
their attitude of friendliness assumed, 18
chief sachems of, called together at Casco, 18
tribes mentioned, 18
their appearance on Casco Bay, 18
to be committed to the French, 65
urged by the latter against the English, 65
from Penobscot and Norridgewock to meet French expedition against Piscataqua frontier at Winnepesauke Lake, 111
(Abenaquis) support Chaillons in attack on Haverhill, 115, note
Jesuit a disturbing influence among, 137, 169
claimed by the French as an ally, 169
and by the English as well, 169
three great families of, in Maine, defined, 172
on the Kennebec closely allied to French interest, 172
formed the French frontier post (Mission of Sebastian Ralé), 172, *vide* also note
mentioned, 173
language understood by Ralé, 178
dictionary of, 179
party of, from Becancour at Georgetown, 185
Ralé's efforts to incite, to butcher the heretic settler, 229
Ralé mentioned by Dummer in connection with, 247
conference with the English, 248, note, also 249, note
their demands, 248, note, also 249, note
furnished arms by the French, 249, note
instigated to attack the English, 249, note
on the Saco, 258, 259
on the Ossipee, 259
on the Androscoggin, 259
effort to obtain a peace compact with, 275
inclined to enter into peace with the English, 276
without reference to Vaudreuil, 276

INDEX

Abenake, in response to overtures by, commissioners are appointed by English to confer with Indians at St. Georges on Arrowsic Island, 276
come in under flag of truce, 276
winter domicile a fairly substantial structure, 309, note
with Caughnawagas, accompany Vaudreuil against Fort Massachusetts, 370
Tarratines only remnant of, at close of French and Indian War, 512
last fight of English with, 514
after building of Fort Pownal, were friends of English, 514
still found in Maine, 514, 515
their story ends with the surprise of the village of St. Francis by Rogers, 515, also note
Abercrombie, shows the "white feather," 502
orders a retrograde movement at critical moment, 502
assault on Ticonderoga fails; cause of, 503
his bad temper and chagrin, 503
his expedition regarded as a failure, 504
Amherst succeeds, 505
Aborigine, labors of the Jesuits among, 425
Abraham, Heights of, 507
Abraham, Plains of, 507
battle of, described, *vide* note, 508–513
Acadia, Governor Brouillian of, for neutrality, 13
invaded by the English, 101, note
an inglorious campaign, 101, note, 102
English fleet leaves Boston for, 130
capitulation of the French, 130
by Treaty of Utrecht, passes to the English, 167
a bone of contention, 169
was to be regained by France, 170
English at Annapolis, 170
maintain a weak garrison, 170, *vide* note
its population (1720), 170
freedom of worship secured by Treaty of Utrecht, 171
as a condition of their English allegiance, 171, *vide* note
the English unable to check influence of Jesuit propaganda, 171
afraid of the priest-led natives and settlers, 171
its boundary to the French on the west, 172
to the English on the north, 172

INDEX

Acadia, only remnant of, left to France, 295
had been ceded to Great Britain, 295, 296
pioneers of Newfoundland transferred to, Isle Royale, 296
inhabitants of, remain in their old habitats, 296
allowed by the English rights of religious freedom, 296
Jesuits establish themselves among, 296
observance of Catholic ritual maintained, 296
outwardly English subjects, internally were those of New France, 296
number of inhabitants of, reported by Colonel Vetch, 297
conditions of, considered, 297
Louisburg a constant menace to English occupancy of, 297
also trade of Great Britain with, 297
report of Colonel Vetch rule of action by English governors of, 297
refuse inhabitants of, permission to remove to Cape Breton, 297
effort made to obtain allegiance to British Crown, 297
Governor Phillips obtains unconditional submission on Annapolis River, 298
subsequent Submissions, conditional, 298
inhabitants of, exempted from army service, 298
known as French neutrals, 298
concession repudiated by higher authorities, 298
makes little progress under the English, 298
arouses little interest among English Ministry, 298
Acadians could easily at any time overpower their English masters, 298
whose headquarters was a single dilapidated fort, 298
debatable ground of French and English for a century, 310
inhabitants of, more French than English, 310
subjects of Jesuit paternalism, 310
also solicitude of French governors, 310
their allegiance to English from personal interest, 310
not unmixed with fear, 310
aborigine of, alone held aloof in his independence of the English, 310
maintaining his attachment for the Jesuit priest, 310
French more the substantial friend of the Acadians than the English, 310
fall of Canso entering-wedge of separation between hostiles, 310
Acadian fisheries a bone of contention, 13
Acadian waters, 119

INDEX

Acadians, willing prisoners, poverty stricken and desperate, 82
a covert threat to the English, 296
their religious freedom conditioned, 296
attached to French interest, 296
revolt against the English and declare allegiance to the French, 422
reclaimed to the English by Winslow, 466
depopulated and people sent into exile, 467, *vide* note, 468, note
which act is charged to Shirley, 467, 468, note
disposition of, to prevent their further interference in politics of the country, 468
conquest of, with defeat of Dieskau, the decisive events of 1755, 468
in Boston, 467, note
provincial government endeavored to alleviate sufferings of, 467, note
as a people, become extinct, 467, note
were scattered from New Hampshire to Georgia, 468, also note
some went to Hispaniola, 467, note
manner of execution of order of exile, 468, note, 469, note
story of their separation, 470, note
vide Acadia
Achilles mentioned, 116, note
Adams family captured by the savages on Berwick Road, 33
Adams, Fort Massachusetts at, 299
western frontier of Massachusetts and Connecticut Valley, 302, 303
Adams, John, his estimate of Shirley, 298, note
Adams, Thomas, captured by savages at Number-Four, 496
Ailleboust, D', at Louisburg, 331
Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of, gave Louisburg to the French, 338, note
Treaty of, mentioned, 403, 413, note
Treaty of Peace at, between French and English not wholly effectual as to New World matters, 419
its apparent results not so important as what was latent in them, 419
condition of New France at the time of its making, 419, 420
mentioned, 423
Albany, mentioned, 65, 66
colonial forces for invasion of Canada to rendezvous at, 128
Vaudreuil prevents Hawks from sending to, for aid, 373

INDEX

Alexander, Captain, with Major Willard at Winchester, 387
Alexander, John, shot by the savages in the woods at Number-Four, 499
Algers, The, on the Nonsuch (Scarborough), mentioned, 180
the uplands near dotted with cabins, 180
Algonquins support Chaillons in attack on Haverhill, 115, note
Alleghany River, 424, 430
Allemants, L', 14, note
Allen, a Deerfield settler, killed in "The Bars Fight," 376
one of his children captured, 376
two others escape, 376
Allen, Captain, engages the Indians at Westfield, 76
his success, 76
Allen, Joseph, killed in the fight near Number-Four, 366
Allen, Lewis, a spy at Wells, 70
arrested and searched; the letter of instructions, 70
escapes, 71
conveys his Wells estate to Lewis Bane, 71
Amadeus, Victor, Duke of Savoy, 9
his alliance with France and Spain, 9
Amasacontee, delegates from, at Portsmouth, 154, note
Amassaconty, Hilton at, 122, *vide* note
Ames, John, killed by savages while after his horse, 224, note
lived on west side of Nashua River, 224, note
his cabin attacked, but successfully defended by his son, 224, note
Amesbury, Indians loiter in woods of, 76
savages kill eight men at, 92
courageous defence of a deserted house by two men, 93
savages capture James Hayes at, 121
Amherst, captures Louisburg, 504
succeeds Abercrombie in command of the western forces, 505
reduces Montreal, 509
and ends the French and Indian War, 510
orders Major Rogers to destroy the Indian settlement at St. Francis, 515
his order consummated, 515, *vide* note
mentioned, 516, note
Ammeriscoggin, Captain Harmon's expedition toward, 207
soldiers sent to, 281
killing of two men on, mentioned, 496

INDEX

Anasaguntacooks, openly defiant of the English, 491
of the hostile Indians, the nearest to the Maine settler, 491
occupied secluded villages about headwaters of the Androscoggin River, 491
claimed all the country watered by that stream, 491
guilty of the raids along the frontier from Royall's River to the Kennebec, 491
waylaid Captain Lithgow near Topsham Fort, 491
a sharp skirmish results, 491
two men up river killed by, 491
Andros becomes Governor of New England, 14, note
Androscoggin River, headwaters of habitat of the Anasaguntacooks, 491
Indians have their settlements about headwaters of, 300
trails about, infested by savages, 405
Knight escapes from his savage captors at, 481
Androscoggins, at Casco, 18
Anglo-Saxon element in the English colonies, 426
Anjou, Duke of, heir of Charles II., 7
goes to Spain, 9
Annapolis, intended surprise by the savages, 228
place alarmed by attempt of savages to shoot a soldier, 228
English make a sortie, 228
rout the Indians without losing a man, 228
attacked by Le Loutre and his Indians, 304, note
relieved by Captain Tyng, 304, note
Mascarene, governor of, 304, note
besieged by Marin with a force of French and Indians, 331
aided by French neutrals, 331
Mascarene defends the place successfully, 331
Anne, Queen, orders Dudley to repair Fort William and Mary at New Castle, 85
petitioned against Dudley, 102, note
Anne's War, Queen, found colonies unprepared, 14, 17
the last tragedy of, 162, 163
mentioned, 179
Anville, D', fleet of, rumored as coming to New England, 340
its singular fate, 341
his death mentioned, 341
Areguntenocks enter into treaty with English at Falmouth, 284
Aresaguntacooks (St. Francis Indians), object to English occupancy of Coos lands, 433, 434

INDEX

Aresaguntacooks (St. Francis Indians), send an ominous message to the peace commissioners at Falmouth (1749), 438
that with them the hatchet was not buried, 438
Arexus, an Indian sachem, attends treaty formation at Boston, 283
Arkansas River, French established on, 423
Arms, Phineas, shot in Moses Rice's corn-field at Charlemont, 474
a Deerfield soldier, 474
Arnold, Benedict, got his suggestion for the Quebec expedition from Montressor's journey over the headwaters of Maine 441, note
Arrowsic, mentioned, 179, 180
Captain Penhallow at, 206
fort at, attacked by five hundred Canada and Cape Sable Indians, 206
the harvesting-party, 206
one man of, killed, 206
three others wounded, 206
Samuel Brooking shot, 206
fifty cattle killed, 206
twenty-six houses burned, 206
fort relieved by Colonel Walton and Captain Harmon, 206
last attack for 1723, 207
Indians at, kill Preble and his wife, 487
take his three children to Canada, 487
attack fort unsuccessfully, 487
Arrowsic Island, a Georgetown settler escapes to, 412
whose house is afterward burned by the Indians, 412
Arundel, savages appear at, 216
mentioned, 246, note
Arundel (Kennebunk) attacked by savages after peace at Casco, 285, 286
Arundel, Benjamin, Major, shot by Indians at, 202
Ashley, Noah, of Westfield, kills an Indian at Westfield and sells the scalp for one hundred pounds, 242
Ashuelot, Lower (Swanzey), two settlers captured and taken to Canada, 365
Ashuelot, Upper (Keene), Joseph Fisher killed by the Indians at, 361
savages plan to surprise, 363
but are discovered by Ephraim Dorman, 363
who escapes to the fort with the gun and blanket of one of the savages, 363
John Bullard and the wife of Daniel McKenny were killed, 363

INDEX

Ashuelot, Upper (Keene), Nathan Blake is captured, 363
houses and barns burned at, 363
Indian knocks at gate of the garrison, 365
the intruder killed by a random shot from the garrison, 365
Assacambuit (Assacumbuit), with Subercase at St. John, 83
his character, 83, note
knighted by the French king, 83, note
wounded, 116, note
Assacumbuit, 16
at Casco Fort with a flag of truce, 39
Assumption, Mission of the, 24, note
Asten, Abiel, of Haverhill, one of Capt. John Lovewell's company, 275, note
Atherton, Shubal, captured by the savages in a flax-field at Green River, 489, note
Atkins Bay, at mouth of Kennebec, fort at, 301
Atkinson (Dudley and Thaxter), at Albany, 275
peace negotiations, 275
Atkinson, Theodore, of New Hampshire "house," attends formation of treaty at Boston, 280, note
also ratification at Falmouth, 280, note
Auchmuty, Judge, first to submit formal proposition for the capture of Louisburg, 316
Augusta, ancient (Small Point Harbor), 449
Colonel Noble's fort at, described and located, 450, note
Austin, Captain, in the battle of the shallops at Winter Harbor, 106
Austrian succession cause of war between France and England, 295
Auverjait, L', 14, note
Ayer, Ebenezer, of Haverhill, one of Capt. John Lovewell's company, 275, note

Back Cove (at Casco), Indian camp at, 289
settlers on, in 1753, 446, note
Back-of-the-Cove familics in 1753, 446, note
Bagnall, Walter, 517
Baker, Capt. Christian, finds young Moses Littlefield at Quebec, 34, note
arranges for latter's exchange, 34, note
his efforts prove futile, 34, note
his deposition concerning Aaron (Moses) Littlefield, 35, note
Baker, James, killed in a meadow near Bridgeman's fort, 367

INDEX

Baker, Nims, Kellog, and Petty escape from Montreal, 80
Baker, Robert, escapes the savages near Great Meadows, 361
his companion, David Rugg, is killed, 361
Baker's River, Indians attack an English hunting-party at, 434
John Stark captured at, 434
Bakers-town, Indians raid, 456
kill a woman and capture several settlers, 456, note
troops begin building bateaux at, 460
Bakers-town Stream, episode of John Stark at, mentioned, 490
Baldwin, James, 93, note
Galusha's garrison near, 93, note
Banks, Lieutenant, his efforts to obtain the surrender of Elisha Plaisted, 152
Barbadoes, colonies sold Pequods and Wampanoags into slavery at, 414
Barber, Robert, killed at Exeter, 96, note
Barber, Robert, of Salisbury, captured in raid on Bakers-town, by the savages, 456, note
sold to the French, 456, note
Barrell, a settler of the name, ambushed near Fort Western, 469
Barrett, Benjamin, of Deerfield, captured by savages, 150, note
Barron, Elias, of Groton, one of Capt. John Lovewell's company, 275, note
"Bars Fight, The," occurred in Stebbins's Meadow, Deerfield, 376, note
Bars, The, houses of settlers at, plundered by the savages, 225, note
Bartlett, Sam, wounded at fight at Pascommuck Fort, 72, note
Bashervell, 35, note
Basin of Minas, Colonel Church at, 64
mentioned, 99
vide Col. Benjamin Church
Bastide, Mr., mentioned, 324
Bay, Little, John Wheeler's four sons hide from Indians under bank of, 87
Bay of Fundy, French build forts along shore of, 422
Bayridge, Ebenezer, house of, in Larrabee garrison, 215
Bay Verte, French fort on isthmus of, gives French a free passage by land to Quebec, 422
Beaman, John, captured by the savages, 367
Bean, Captain, acts as interpreter at Arrowsic, 276, note
sent to North Yarmouth, 390, note
Bean, John, killed by savages at Pennacook, 369, note

INDEX

Bean, Lieutenant, his skirmish with the savages at Spurwink garrison, 226
captures one scalp and twenty-five packs, 226
sells the scalp for one hundred pounds, 226
at Norridgewock with Moulton, 232
Beard, Robert, butchered by the savages in raid on Nottingham, 387
Beaubassin, invests Casco Fort with a force of French and Indians, 41
opens a mine, 41
interrupted by Captain Southack, who recaptures an English sloop from the French, 41
raises the siege, 42
descends upon Scarborough at Cammock's Neck, 42
where his force invests garrison of John Larrabee, 42
opens a mine under the fort, 43
his mine destroyed by a heavy storm, 43
his force exposed to fire of garrison, withdraws, 44
mentioned, 45, *vide* note, 117
Charlevoix's estimate of killed and captured by, 45
at Louisburg, 331
(with La Force) joins Vaudreuil in the advance on Fort Massachusetts, 371
Beauharnois, Marquis de, St. Castin writes to, of English advance on frontier, 288
Becancour, Abenake from, 186
Bedford, Duke of, at Canso, 323
first lord of the English Admiralty, 323
objects to any movement against Canada by the colonies, 338
credits navy with capture of Louisburg, 339
Belcher, Chief-Justice, son of former Governor of Massachusetts, 468, note
determines upon exile of the Acadians, 468, note
Bell, the finding of Ralé's chapel, in the woods of Kennebec, 190, note
its present repository, 190, note
mentioned, 234, note
Bell, traditions of the, in connection with the invasion of Deerfield, 54, 55
Bell-croft of Ralé's chapel, 176
Bellomont, Earl of, mentioned, 157, note
Bellows, Colonel, has a skirmish with the Indians at Walpole, 474
his position perilous, 474

INDEX

Bellows, Colonel, after killing a number of the savages he breaks through their lines and gets all his men safely into a near-by fort, 474, 475
a full account of this fight, 475, note
Benwick, Abraham, engages the Indians at Oyster River, 219
one of the Indians, killed in the fight, of some distinction, 220
articles found on, enumerated, 220
supposed to have been a natural son of Ralé, 220
his scalp given to the governor and council by Robert Burnham, 220
Berri, Duc de, residuary legatee of Anjou, 8
Berry, an early settler at Rye, 203, note
Berwick, two men killed going home from church, 107
Indians appear at, 203
where they kill two men, 203
one of whom was Myles Thompson, 203, note
who lived at Love's Brook, on the road from Quampegan to Wells, 203, note
also a man by the name of Stone mangled and scalped, but lived, 203, note
raids of the savages about, 205
man killed at, by savages, 207
voted one hundred pounds for defence, 305, note
Biard, on the Penobscot, 14, note
on the Kennebec, 24, note
Biart (Biard), 24, note
Bickford, William, dies of wounds received from savages near Hinsdale Fort, 406
Bienville, Véléron de, makes a survey of the Ohio Valley in the interests of the French, 423
Bigots, The, 14, note
reference to attempted conciliation of Abenake, 17, note
on the Kennebec, 24
Biloxi Bay, colonized by the French, 423
Bird, Benjamin, 307, note
Bishop, Enos, of Boscawen, captured by the savages and taken to St. François, 457, note
sold to a French gentleman for "300 livres," 457, note
makes his escape, 457, note
a sum of money raised for his ransom retained by the person by whom it was sent, 457, note
receives fifty pounds gratuity from General Court, 457, note

Black Point, Larrabee's at, 44
garrison at, burned by the savages, 46
sloops of Captains Willard and Wells at, 46
number of attacking-party, 46
Indians at, kill and capture settlers, 204
mentioned, 308, 358
loss of life by savages at, 409
Blake, Nathan, is captured by the savages at Upper Ashuelot, and taken to Canada, 363
obtains his freedom two years later, 363
Blanchard, Col. Joseph, in command of New Hampshire troops sent to Albany, 460
Blanchard, Thomas, captured with Nathan Cross by the Indians at Dunstable, 240, note
Blanchard's (North Yarmouth), Joseph Sweat killed by the savages near, 358
Blenheim, 11
Blim, Mr., 194
at Canso, 210
Blockhouse wherever a settlement had taken root, 182
Blockhouses and garrisons east of Piscataqua River (1745), 301
Bloody Brook, Captain Lothrop and his men massacred at, 51
"Bloody Ground," the name given to Scarborough, 408
Bobasser (Sieur de Beaubassin), 45, note
Bœuf, Fort Le, 424
Gist and Washington at, 428
St. Pierre commander of, 428
Bolton, William, captured by the savages at New Marblehead, 401
Bomazeen, 16
in the party that captured Elisha Plaisted, 152
signs Portsmouth Treaty, 157, note
sachem of the Canibas, 232, note
seized at Pemaquid and sent to Boston, 232, note
a signer of Portsmouth Treaty, 232, note
his statement concerning Christ and his Mother, Mary, 232, note
killed at Brunswick by one of Moulton's men, 232, note, 233, note
his daughter shot in the Kennebec woods, 233, *vide* note
his squaw shows the English the way to Norridgewock, 233
Bond, Nicholas, killed in the raid on Hampton, 44, note
Boocour (Beaucour), M., and his war-party, 74, *vide* note
John Williams writes of Beaucour's boasts, 74

INDEX

Boocour (Beaucour), M., his force given, 74
and singularly broken up within two days' march of English settlement, 74
Boquet operates under Forbes, 502, note
Boscawen, 437
vide Contoocook
Boscawen, Admiral, aids in execution of orders to exile Acadians, 468, note
Boston, plans of the French for the capture of, 12
English Council at, do not consider Brouillian's suggestions, 13
the Acadian fisheries bone of contention, 13
in the years succeeding 1744 seldom free from fear of invasion by sea, 306, note
committee to strengthen works in harbor, 307, note
description of same, and measures taken at various times for defence of, 306, 307, and notes
armament for Castle William, 307, note
John Brock gunner at, 307, note
John Larrabee officer in command of Castle William at, 307, note
notified of capture of Canso, 313, note
three captured settlers come into, under flag of truce, 363
selected as the place for Peace Conference, 378, note
eastern Indians at, on errand of peace, 407, 408
incensed over England's surrender of Cape Breton to the French as a peace condition, 407
the mob in King Street, 407
the town put under arms, 407
impressment of artisans by Commodore Knowles at, 407, *vide* note
conference with the Indians in the Council Chamber at, 407, 408
place named for the solemnization of a peace, 408
Tarratine sachems at, 465
Cargill imprisoned at, for raid on Tarratines at Owl's Head, 465
Boston Harbor, Quebec expedition leaves, 145
fort is strengthened (1745), 306
Boston meeting-house, 341
Boston, New, 462
vide New Boston
Bowdoin, James, mentioned, 450, note
Bowen, Peter, of Contoocook (Boscawen), kills two Indians, Sabatis and Plausawa, 435, *vide* note

INDEX

Bowen, Peter, of Contoocook (Boscawen), arrested and taken to Portsmouth, 436
rescued by some jail-breakers, 436
Brackett, an early settler at Rye, 203, note
Bradbury, Captain, in command at fort at St. Georges, 407
Indians broach peace to, 407
obtains passage for the Indians to Boston, 407
at St. Georges, 490
Penobscots make friendly overtures to, 490
warns the Tarratines against Kellock's scouts, 492
Braddock defeated on the Ohio, 465
his regulars cut up by the French and Indians, 465
Bradley, Jonathan, killed by Indians at Pennacook, 369, note
Bradley, Samuel, killed by savages at Pennacook, 369, note
Bradley's garrison at Haverhill captured, 63
Goodwife Bradley kills one of the assailants with a ladle of hot lye, 63
the sentinel shot, 63
Mrs. Bradley taken to Canada and sold to the French for eighty livres, 64
redeemed later by her husband, 64
Bradstreet, Colonel, courage of, suggested, 502
his expedition against Fort Frontenac, 503
his success, 503
Bragdon, Arthur, Wilson and his girl captured at house of, 34, note
wife and five children surprised and captured at York, 46
Bragg, a soldier, killed in ambush by savages near Maquoit, 404, note
Breda, Treaty of, disposes of English pretensions to Pentagoët, 14, note
Breton, Cape (Isle Royale), 168
dominated entrance to St. Lawrence waters, 168
strongest strategic point on Acadian coast, 168
a stepping-stone to the nobility to William Pepperrell, 168
fortification of Louisburg established on, 168
island, 295
only remnant of Acadia left to France by the Treaty of Utrecht, 295
fortified by the French, 295, 296
known as Louisburg, 295
pioneers of Newfoundland invited to accept of its protection, 296
and are transferred to, 296

Breton, Cape (Isle Royale), abandoning Placentia, 296
English afraid removal of Acadians to, would make it populous at expense of Acadia, 297
Governor of, despatches force against Canso, 305, 311
razes Canso and takes garrison to Louisburg, 305
lay between Canso and Newfoundland, 310
Duquesnel Governor of, 310
plans capture of Placentia, 311
but attacks Annapolis instead, 311
an abortive expedition, 311
affairs at, reported to Shirley by one of the exchanged prisoners, 314
considered geographically, 314
English make landing on, 326
a man returned from, killed by savages at Pennacook, 387
settlers expended their energies in eapture of, 403
mentioned in connection with Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 403
falls into the hands of the French at close of war, by treaty 406
Bridgeman's fort (Hinsdale), a garrison near Fort Dummer. 367
burned, 387
inmates killed or captured and taken to Canada, 387
attacked by the savages, 477
capture the families of Grout, Howe, and Gaffield, 478
number of inmates, 478
Bristol (Grafton County), 496, note
British Ministry, Pitt at head of, 499
activity of, against the French in America, 499
Broadbay (Waldoborough), attacked, 355
the place burned, 355
settled by German emigrants, 355
settlement burned and the settlers killed or captured, 355, *vide* note
a German settler and his wife, named Smith, butchered by the savages, 413, note
her son, Peter Canagh, escapes, 414, note
Brookfield, savages captured in vicinity of, 121
savages kill two men at, 126
attack six men in a hayfield, 134, *vide* note
their names, 134, note
Brooking, Samuel, killed in the Indian attack on the fort at Arrowsic, 206

Brooks, Nathaniel, captured by the savages in a flax-field at Green River, 489, note
Brown, a settler of New Marblehead, shot by the savages at the entrance to his field, 485
Brown, Captain, at Neal's garrison in Berwick, 64
accompanies Moulton to Norridgewock, 232
Brown, John, one of the soldiers wounded in defence of garrison at Number-Four, 385
Brown, Lieutenant, second officer of the Wheelright expedition to Lovel's Pond, 246, note
Brown, Timothy, captured at Lower Ashuelot and taken to Canada, 365
Brunswick (Pejepscot), 23, *vide* note
Fort George at, built by John Gyles, 180
near lower falls of the Androscoggin, 180
number of settlers (1717-1722), 191
place abandoned, after Indian ravages began, 191
entire settlement captured by savages, 192
comprised of nine families, 192
settlement attacked, 194, *vide* note
Fort George at the falls on Pejepscot River, 194
built of stone, 195, note
chain-shot from, dislodges the savages at Fish-house Hill, 195, note
two men shot at, 202
Harmon and Moulton at, 232, note
where Bomazeen is killed, 232, note
settlers at siege of Louisburg, 236, note
first place to be settled after 1729, 301, 308
fort at, in dilapidated condition in 1745, 301
number of garrison-soldiers at, 302
schoolmaster thought necessary at, 308, note
Captain Burnell captured by the savages at, 405
three men of, ambushed by the Indians, 483, 484
one of whom is wounded, captured, and taken to Canada, 484
Bryant, a settler of Gorhamtown, surprised with his boy in the field, 350, 352
killed by the savages before he could reach the fort, 352
the boy escapes, 352
his family massacred, 352
the sport of savage revenge, 352
taken to Canada, 353

INDEX

Bryants, The, capture of, at Gorhamtown referred to, 461
Buccaneer, The, name Hunniwell gave to his gun, 161
Buckley, Captain, 76
Buena Vista (Cape Elizabeth), 37, note
Bullard, John, killed by the savages at Upper Ashuelot, 363
Bunker, John, of Dover, killed by the Indians, 103, *vide* note
Burnal, Job, killed by the savages near Falmouth, 445
Burnell, Captain, killed by savages near Maquoit, 404, note, 405
Burnham, Elizabeth, ambushed on Oyster River trail, 219
Burnham, Job, garrison of, attacked by savages, 205
incident of Sam Manhan in connection with, related, 205
Burnham, Robert, 220
Burns, Captain, ambushed and killed near Maquoit, 404, note
Burt, John, Captain Wright's scout, lost, 126, *vide* note
Burton, Captain, kills Captain (Colonel) Morris, a Penobscot sachem, in a skirmish near St. Georges, 355
garrison of, located, 464, note
has a garrison-house at St. Georges River, 479
keeps a pack of dogs to guard against savage surprise, 479
himself and family saved by his dogs, 480
had a skirmish with the Tarratines when truckmaster at St. Georges Fort, 480
he cuts off the head of Captain Morris with a single blow of his sword, 480
was caught in ice on St. Georges River and frozen to death, 480
a terror to the Indians on the eastern frontier, 480
Butland, John, adventure of, 394, note, 395, note
lived at Larrabee's village, 394, note
led into ambush by a ruse, 394, note
but escapes by hiding in a hollow log, 395, note
Butland's Rocks, Captain Felt and his two men ambushed at Gooch Creek Mill buried near, 217
Butler, Captain, and wife escape savages, 93, *vide* note
Butler, Moses, 305, note
Butterfield, an English hunter of that name captured in the woods near Paris, Me., 444
describes an Indian burial, 445

Call, Philip, wife of, killed by savages at Bakers-town, 456, note
Cammock's Neck, savages appear before garrison at, 42
probably same built by John Larrabee, 42
mentioned, 82

Canada, French leave, for Casco Bay, 29
John Schuyler visits Eunice Williams in, 61, 62
invasion of, contemplated, 125
decided upon, 127
must become English to maintain peace, 137
and Jesuit influence be removed, 137
isolated from English settlements by wilderness, 138
invasions of latter called for indomitable hardihood, 138
Walker, Admiral, expedition against, a failure, 146, 147
mentioned, 170
Indians from, attack fort at Arrowsic, 206
tribes take part in peace treaty at Falmouth, 284
dry season in, 337
conquest of, proposed by the colonies, 338
English Ministry not in favor of, 338
Duke of Bedford objects, 338
Peter Kalm gives reasons for such action, 338, note
Mr. Higginson comments on Kalm, 338, note
expedition to, takes many soldiers from the frontier posts, 378
population of (1753), 425
"Canada Converts" charged with the raid on Mousam River and at Damaris Cove, 281
Canaday, 35, note
Canady, Captain, defends St. Georges garrison thirty days, successfully, 215
Canagh, Peter, a son of settler Smith's wife, escapes the savages at Broadbay, 414, note
Canibas, The, 24, note
Bomazeen sachem of, 232, note
keep their enmity against English alive, 408
do not join in Falmouth compact, 408
attack Fort Richmond, 411
a ferocious tribe, 439, 440
after the death of Ralé, hated the English, 439
was augmented by the encroachments of the English up and down the Kennebec, 439
the Georgetown settlemcnt especially irritating to, 439
upon which they had made repeated raids, 439
their operations confined to the outer tier of hamlets, 439
refused to be placated, 440
abandoned their old hunting-grounds, 440
removed to Canada at solicitation of the French, 440, *vide* note

Canibas, The, had easy access to the English settlements over the Kennebec River, 440, note
their trail described, 440, note
colonial commissioners have a conference with, 448
promise to keep the peace if the English will keep off their lands, 448
complaint of, well grounded, 449
demand rum of English at Fort Richmond, 453
object to building of Fort Halifax, 454, *vide* note
sign a treaty of amity upon being shown deed from their ancestors to the English, 454
Fort Halifax a source of constant irritation to, 478
attack two men from, who were fishing on the river, 478
the fort at St. Georges marked for destruction by them, 479
balked in their designs, 479
had no abiding-place on Kennebec, 490
Canonicus recalled, 290
Canseau (Canso), weakly garrisoned, 304
Governor of Cape Breton plans capture of, 304
fort at, destroyed; garrison taken to Louisburg, 304
the act notice of outbreak of war, 304, note
news of, reaches Massachusetts promptly, 304, note
Canso, report of raid on, by the savages, 225
an island off Nova Scotia, 310
hardly more than a fishing-station, 310
with a fort or blockhouse and small garrison, 310
its geographical situation as to Cape Breton, 310
becomes French once more, 311
attack on, regarded as precipitate, 312
revealed the situation to the English, 313
prisoners taken at, exchanged, 313, note
prisoners taken at, sent to Boston, 313, *vide* note
were able to give Governor Shirley information concerning Louisburg, 314
English leaves Nantasket for, 323
a blockhouse to be erected at, 323
English, or Provincials, reach, 323
who are joined by His Majesty's ships, 323
quiet prevails at, 324
ice at, holds Pepperrell, 325
Canterbury, Sabatis and Plausawa come into, and are killed by a settler of Contoocook, 435, *vide* note

Canton (Rocamoco, Jay Point), 23, note
Cape Breton Island, Walker's fleet rendezvoused at, 147
Cape Elizabeth, the eastern boundary of Spurwink, 37, note
mentioned, 179
Cape Sable, Indians from, attack fort at Arrowsic, 206
Capisic, grist-mill at, 400, note
miller refuses to take toll from a Gorhamtown woman's grist, 400, note
"Captive," a name given a babe born in captivity by the mother, 458
Captives, Indian, English offer two hundred fifty pounds for all taken, 463
Card, Ensign, mentioned as being on Wheelright's expedition to Lovel's Pond, 246, note
Cargill, Capt. James, of Newcastle, makes a raid on the Tarratines at Owl's Head, 464, 465
his brutality, 465
its disastrous effect on efforts of English to keep peace with the Tarratines, 465
imprisoned at Boston, and finally released, 465
Carignan Regiment, 13, note
Carpenter, William, of Kittery, entire family butchered, 103
Carr, John, of Chester, captured by savages, 219
Carter, Ebenezer, captured at Deerfield, redeemed, 80
with two others, 80
Carter's mill, Sam Manhan buried near, 205
a sawmill on the Nonsuch River, 205
Casco, New, settlers at (1753), 446, note
vide New Casco
Casco, Peace Convention at, 17, 28
as to previous meeting between English and Abenakis, 17, note
council called at, by Dudley, 18
Abenake sachems attend, 18
picturesque scene described, 18, 22, note
site of the conference, 18, 19
the oration of Simmo, 19
conference described, 19–21
on the part of the savages, a hollow pretense, 21
conference concluded with volleys of musketry, 21, note
Indians fire first, 21, note
their intended treachery apparent, 21
their muskets shotted, 21

INDEX

Casco, plot to capture Dudley fails, 21, note
appearance of French and Indians at, later, 21
their ravages about, 22
purposely avoided by savages on the Well's raid, 34
fort at, in command of Major March, 39
Moxus, Wanungonet, and Assacumbuit appear at, with flag of truce, 39
settlers at, ignorant of ravages of savages at the westward, 39
Hilton's expedition to, 97, *vide* note
mentioned, 179, 180
Casco, Peace of, concluded, 285
Casco Bay. French and Indians appear at, 29
first settlers at, 37, note
settlers on the islands of, in 1753, 446, note
Casco Fort, 39
Casco River mentioned, 397
Cathance River (Brunswick), 194
Catlin, Joseph, assists in defence of Stebbins garrison at Deerfield, 57, note
Caughnawaga, Eunice Williams at, 61
Caughnawaga Indians at Georgetown with the Norridgewocks, 185
Caughnawagas (and Abenake) accompany Vaudreuil against Fort Massachusetts, 370
Causeway, The, by Chapman's, near site of old Horse Tavern, 357
Chaillons, Saint-Ours des, in command of expedition against Piscataqua frontier, 111, 115, note
Chamberlain, John, of Groton, one of Lovewell's men at the fight of Lovewell's Pond, 270, *vide* note, 275, note
some doubt cast upon the same, 270
for the tradition of his killing Paugus, 271, note
Chambly, Hertel of, one of Chaillons's officers, killed at Haverhill, 116, *vide* note
Champlain mentioned, 425
Champlain, Lake, 54
Chapin, Capt. Elisha, captured by the savages at Hoosac, 489, note
Chappeau-rouge Bay, 324, 325
English plans to enter under cover of darkness fail, 326, *vide* note
Charles II. (House of Austria), dead, 7
his will made Anjou heir to Spanish Monarchy, 7
better known in history as Philip V., 7
made ample provision for The Succession, 7, 8

Charleston (Number-Four), settled by three brothers from Groton, 362, note
the Farnsworths killed and captured at, 363, note
"Charlestown" (Charleston, No. 4), attacked by Mons. Debeline with four hundred French and Indians, 214, note
Charlevoix says Moulton's force at Norridgewock was eleven hundred men, 237, note
Chasse, La, 14, note
Chaudière, route of Penobscots to, 452, note
Chelmsford, savages in neighborhood of, 95
Major Tyng surprised and mortally wounded at, 134
Cheney Hill, Rev. Joseph Willard attacked at, 212, also note
and killed, 213
Chesley, Captain, accompanies Hilton on his expedition, 48
receives five pounds from the government, 48
checks a party of Mohawks at Oyster River, 105, note
Chesley, George, ambushed, 219
Chester, savages go into, 219
capture Thomas Smith and John Carr, 219
Chibucto Harbor, English found the city of Halifax near, 421
French build a fort near, 422
Chidchester, James, son of Sergeant, killed by Indians at Hoosac, 489, note
Chidchester, Sergeant, with his son killed at Hoosac by the savages, 489, note
Chignecto, Colonel Church at, 64
chain of French forts extend from, to St. John River, 422
Childs, Deacon Samuel, ambushed by savages at Green River Farms and wounded, 282, note
his wound diagnosed by Doctor Thomas Hastings, 283, note
Chubb, Samuel, killed by the Indians at Black Point, 203
mistaken for Captain Harmon, 203, note
Church, Benjamin, assists in defence of Stebbins garrison, at Deerfield, 57, note
Church, Col. Benjamin, relates two instances of savage barbarity, 61, note
is despatched against the eastern Indians, 64
sails from Boston to Piscataqua, 64
joined by Major Hilton, 64
at Chignecto and the Basin of Minas, 64
touches at Penobscot and Passamaquoddy, 64
captures a daughter of St. Castin, 64

Church, Col. Benjamin, his fifth and last expedition against the eastern Indians, 64
his expedition mentioned, 71, 73
asserts that he was prevented from attacking Port Royal, 99, 100
mentioned, 123
Church, Rale's, ill-built, 176, note
pins a letter to the door of, at Norridgewock, 176, note
Clam-flats of Scarborough, 160, note
Cleeve, George, at Spurwink, 37, note
ejected from, by John Winter, 37, note
settled at Cascoe, 37, note
Clesson, Lieutenant, pursues the savages after raid on Stebbins's Meadow ("The Bars Fight"), 376, and note
Cloudman (Cloutman), Edward, *vide* Cloutman
Cloutman, Edward, a settler of Gorhamtown, 350
described, 353
his capture by the savages, 353
taken to Canada, 353
Cloutman (Cloudman) Edward, the adventures of, at Presumpscot Lower Falls, 483, note
removed to Gorhamtown (1745), 484, note
Cocheco, patrolled, 111
savages at, 140
kill three men in a field, 141
ambush the settlers going from meeting, 141
the rescue party, 141
three companies called out by Colonel Walton to pursue the savages, 143
Cockram (Cochran), James, a soldier captured by two Indians at Maquoit Bay, 252, 253, *vide* note
the story of escape, 254
which is verified by a party of Captain Gyles's soldiers, 254
Coffin, Capt. Robert, patrols the country between Cocheco and Kingston, 111
Coffin, Dr., of Falmouth, mentioned as attending upon Edmund Phinney after the adventure of the latter with the savages at Gorhamtown, 399
Cohos, Massachusetts recommends the building of a fort at, by New Hampshire, 458, note
mentioned, 460
Colby, Jonathan, is captured by the savages at Number-Four, 477, *vide* note

Colcord, Peter, captured by savages at Kingston, 218
makes his escape, 219
Cole, Isaac, killed at the Wheelright garrison, 151
Cole, Nicholas, suspects purpose of Indians to capture him, 49
has a mill in Wells, 49
is an expert millman, and a trapper, 49
stays away from his traps, 49
his suspicions justified, 49
with three soldiers, goes after his cattle, 69
attacked by the savages in ambush, 69
only one of the party escapes, 70
his musket found in the river ninety-six years later, 70
savages pursued by soldiers from Wheelright's garrison, 70
sawmill of, on Little River, burned by the savages, 202
Cole, Sergeant, in the battle of the shallops at Winter Harbor, 106
Coleman, Jabez, and his son Joseph killed by the savages in their Kingston corn-field, 241
Coleman, Joseph, of Kingston, son of Jabez, 241
Colfax, Sampson, captured by savages at Number-Four, 496
Colonies, The, quotas to be furnished in invasion of Canada, 128
forces of, to rendezvous at Albany, 128
naval force to come to Boston, 128
squadron does not come, 129
Colrain, settler shot at, by savages, 362, note
last outrage of savages in French and Indian War takes place at, 500, note
Joseph McKoun, his wife and child, waylaid and captured, 500, note, 501, note
attack Morrison's fort, 501, note
Connecticut, sends as an embassy Messrs. Gold and Levinston, with Massachusetts, to the Five Nations to secure the neutrality of the latter, 77
to offset the work of the Jesuits, 77
embassy successful, 77
quota of, in invasion of Canada, 128
Queen's messenger sent to Governor of, 129
mentioned, 295
population in 1744, 300
votes aid to Louisburg expedition, 319, 321
raises men for the campaign against Canada, 505
Connecticut River, 54
settlers along, 308

INDEX

Connecticut River, ten settlements on, in time of Shirley's War, 360
there were forts in most of these, 360
every settler carried a musket as he went abroad, 360
butcheries multiplied from day to day, 360
ravaged by Indians, 488
Connecticut Valley, 7
objective of M. Beaucour's expedition from Canada, 74
mentioned, 126, 138
routes taken by French and Indians to, 300, note
disposition of English to reclaim and improve, 433
new grants located on, 433
party explores the Coos wilderness, 433
Indians object to English occupancy of, 433, 434
English retire from, 434
last Indian outrage, at Colrain, 500, note
Contoocook mentioned, 260
Contoocook (Boscawen), raided by the savages, 365
settlers killed and captured, 365
two men captured by savages at, 369, also note
Peter Bowen of, kills two Indians, Sabatis and Plausawa, 435, *vide* note
Conway (Pequawket), 258
Conway Meadows, tribal village of Pequawkets at, 348
Cook, Elisha, of Contoocook, killed by the savages, 365, 456, note
Cook, Timothy, son of Elisha, was killed in the savage raid on Bakers-town, 456, note
Coos Intervales, French and Indians build fort at, 65, 66, note
Coos Wilderness, English explore, 433
intent of government to extend settlements into, 433
remonstrance of the Indians to, 433, 434
Corn, staff of life to settler, 390
a woman buys a half-bushel of, at Falmouth, 400
price of, in Shirley's War, 402
Corn-meal, used in some form by the settler at every repast, 390
incident related of need of, 400, note
Cornwallis, Edward, comes to Nova Scotia, 421
finds a virgin soil, 421
the building of Halifax begins, 421
Country Farms (near Green River), one of last raids of 1756 along New Hampshire border, 490
Coureurs du bois, 419, 423, 425

Courtemanche, accompanies John Sheldon from Montreal to Deerfield, 80
goes from Deerfield to Boston, 80
is entertained by the Elder Dudley, 81
returns to Montreal by vessel from Boston, 81
Captain Vetch goes along with him, 81
Court records of the times deficient, 411
Covenant of Works, fetish of the Puritan, 291
the trellis upon which Freedom was to grow, 291
Cowass mentioned, 147, note
Cowassuck, Indians build fort at, 66, note
planted corn at, 66, note
Caleb Lyman's adventures at, 66, note, 67, note, 68, note
Cow Island, savages attack three men in Narrows near, 402, note
Cranbourne, a fellow-conspirator of Rockwood and Lowick, 10
Croisil, with Norridgewocks, at Georgetown, 186
mentioned as "Crozen," 186, note
Cross, Nathan, captured by the savages at Dunstable, 240, note
Crown, The, assumes a proportion of the charges incurred by the Louisburg expedition, 340
which is sent to Boston in the coin of the realm, 340
the amount mentioned, 340
Crown Point, Indians come into, with Rugg's scalp on a pole, the Great Meadow's victim, 362
objective of Vaudreuil's expedition, 370
mentioned, 405
English plan an expedition against French at, 460
Dieskau defeated at, 466
but Johnson fails to capture the place, 466
failure of English to dislodge French from, encourages the Indians in their ravages, 473
expedition, preparation for, in New Hampshire, 496
English plan campaign against, 505
is evacuated by the French, 506
Crucifix and spoon, Ralé's, 190, note
Cummings, a man of that name wounded at Wells garrison, Dunstable, 90, note, 92, note
his wife shot, 90, note
Cummings, William, one of Lovewell's men on the Pequawket expedition, 260
a Dunstable man, 260
dismissed at Contoocook as incapacitated, 260

INDEX

"Cushanna, Old Settlement and Clear Land" (Augusta), 301
once a chapel here, probably that of Dreuillettes, 301
Cushnoc, fort and trading-post at, 308
Cushnoc (Augusta), stone fort erected at, 180, *vide* note
Plymouth agrees to erect a "defensible house" at, 452, note
fortified stone house built at (1629), 453, note
Cutts, a Mr., of Kittery, wounded in the Jackson expedition to Penobscot Bay, 228

Dabadis, Joseph, a younger brother of St. Castin, 251
his vessel captured by Captain Pritchard, 251, *vide* note
himself ill-treated, 251
letter of complaint to Governor of Massachusetts, 251, note
in which he enumerates his losses, 253, note
Damariscotta (Newcastle), Vaughn founds settlement of, 339, note
Indians at, 342
burn a garrison-house, a sawmill, and a few cabins at, 342
savages attack a house at, 398
Damaris Cove, Lieutenant Tilton at, 193
surprised by the savages, 193
savages burn two shallops at, 281
capture five men and a boy, who are taken to Winneganse and butchered, 281
supposed to be Canada Indians, as assault was after treaty proposals at Boston, 281
Dane, Thomas, ambushed by the savages and killed, 69, 70
with Hodson and Cole near Wheelright's garrison, 70
Danger-signal of the settler to warn neighbors of Indians, 396
Dauphin, the Porte, one of the gates of Louisburg, 328
Davis, a man by that name killed at Groton, 76, note
Davis, a settler of Dresden, 411
his house attacked and one of his children captured, 411
Davis, Captain, leads an expedition toward Ossipee Ponds, 46
accompanies Major Hilton on his expedition, 48
is paid five pounds by the government, 48
goes with Colonel Hilton on a scout, 124
Davis, Eleazar, of Concord, of Capt. John Lovewell's company, at Pequawket, 275, note
Davis, Josiah, of Concord, of Capt. John Lovewell's company at Pequawket, 275, note
Davis, Moses, and a son killed by the Indians in the fight between, and Benwick, 220, 221

Davis, Simon, and his son escape Gray Lock in the Rutland raid, 212, 213, note
Davis, Simon, Jr., 212
Dead River, an Indian waterway, 441, note
Dearing, Roger, garrison-house of, attacked by savages, 204
his wife killed, 204
Mary Scamman, a guest, taken captive, 204
the three savages attacking well known to the Dearings, 204
were Sam Mahan, his son, and Wahooha, 205
had their wigwams on bank of Nonsuch River, 205
Debeline, Monsieur, with four hundred French and Indians attack Charlestown, 214, note
under Niverville, at Number-Four, 383, *vide* note
his parley with Stevens at, 383
threatens to put garrison to the sword, 384
Dedham settlers migrate to Connecticut Valley, 51
settle Deerfield, 51
Deerfield, savages capture two settlers at, 46
situated on Connecticut River, 50
an offshoot of old Dedham, 50
most northerly settlement in Connecticut Valley, except Northfield, 50
how the place originated, 50
conveyance of the lands comprising, obtained of Indians by Major Pyncheon, 50
reservation of the Indians, 50
Deerfield grant divided, 51
first cabins in, built by two men from Hatfield, 51
first known as Pocumtuck, 51, 59, note
derivation of present name, 51
attack on, in King Philip's War, 51
in which occurred the massacre of Bloody Brook, 51
its desertion, 51
the settlement rebuilt, 51
John Williams, the minister at, 51
requests the government for a relay of soldiers, 51, *vide* note on 52
twenty men sent to, 52
though warned of their danger, settlers of, incredulous, 52
warned by Col. John Schuyler, 52
settlers generally superstitious, 52
some of their superstitions, 52

INDEX

Deerfield, some happenings of supernatural interest related, 53
Rev. Solomon Stoddard's account, 53
of omens preceding attack in King Philip's War, 53
French and Indians on their march to attack, 53
De Rouville camps upon a bluff overlooking, 54
the tradition of the bell taken from a French privateer, 54, 55
the attack on, 55-59
two garrisons resist, 56
one of which was Ensign John Sheldon's, 56
Sheldon's wife killed, 56
his son escapes to Hatfield, 56
the latter's wife captured, 56
Stebbins house central point of attack, 57, *vide* note
after the capture of the Sheldon garrison, 57
the fight at the Stebbins house, 57, 58
Indians repulsed, 58
afterward known as "Old Indian House," 58
house of town clerk escapes destruction, 58, note
also the town records, 58, note
also the meeting-house, 58, note
its old door preserved as a relic, 59
number of houses in settlement at time of attack, 59, note
a description of, 59, note
the number of its settlers, 59, note
its garrison soldiers, 59, note
the survivors of the massacre, 59, note
mentioned, 63, 74, 111, 118
Mehuman Hinsdell captured, 123, *vide* note
John Burt and Lieutenant Wells killed near, 124
Indians appear in, 126
settlers watchful, 126
Capt. Thomas Baker goes upon a scout toward Cowass, 147, note
Sheldon's estimate of English losses in Deerfield in Queen Anne's War, 150, note
savages in the vicinity of, 224
English ambushed by savages near, 225
Surgeon Thomas Williams sent from Fort Massachusetts to, for supplies, 372
measures taken by Vaudreuil to prevent his receiving information of investment of Fort Massachusetts, 373
Williams party ambushed and destroyed, 375

Deerfield, savages raid, 375
"The Bars Fight," 376, *vide* note
settlement aroused, takes up fruitless pursuit of savages, 376
Denmark, Anne of, succeeds William III., 11
Detroit, 426
Diamond, Cape, 510, note
Dieskau, defeated by Folsom, 460
mentioned, 466, 468, 490
savages join his army, 476
Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia, sends Gist and Washington to Fort Le Bœuf, 428
with notice to the French commandant to remove from the Ohio Valley, 428
notifies home government of St. Pierre's refusal, 429
is ordered to oppose encroachments of French, 429
Dogs, instances of sagacity of, 350, 351, 442, 480
settlers keep, as safeguard against surprise by savages, 479
savages seldom interfered with, 479
Dongan, Col. Thomas, serves notice on St. Castin as Governor of New York, 14, note
Door, Jonathan, captured by the savages on the Rochester raid, 368
Dorman, Ephraim, arouses the garrison at Upper Ashuelot, 363
beats off two savages and takes the gun and blanket and gets safely into the fort, 363
Dover, Mark Giles surprised and killed at, 64
savages in ambush at, 64
two men at, shot by the Indians, 96, *vide* note
mentioned, 97
Bunker and Rawlins shot by the savages, 103, *vide* note
Captain Summersby's pursuit of, 103
Ensign Tuttle killed by the Indians at, 147
savages at, 199
Joseph Ham killed and three children captured, 199
Tresham Heard killed at, 199
country adjacent to, infested with Indians, 222
several families of Quakers at, 222
one of which was the Downs family, 222
another was John Hanson, 222
the raid of the French Mohawks on home of the latter, 222, 223, and note
people alarmed, Indians make a second capture of the Hanson family at, 277, 278

Dover, the killing of Benjamin Evans, 278, 279
John Evans wounded and scalped, but lived, 279
William Evans butchered by the savages at, 279
who capture a son of Benjamin and take him to Canada, 279
last foray in New Hampshire, 279
Dover, Allan, attacked near Black Point by savages, 358
drops his assailant and escapes, 358
Downing, John, killed at the Wheelright garrison, after the Plaisted wedding, 151
Downs, Ebenezer, a Quaker of Dover, 222
captured by the savages; refused to dance to amuse them, 222
redeemed from captivity, 224, note
Downs, Gershom, killed in the raid on Rochester, 368
Downs, Thomas, of Cocheco, with three others killed while at work in a field, 140, 141
Dragon, The, drops anchor in Boston Harbor, 129
Dresden, Indians come into, 411
waylay and kill a settler by name of Pomeroy, 411
attack the house of a settler named Davis, 411
one of his children captured, 411
mentioned, 453, note
Dresser, Nathaniel, of Scarborough, discovers Indians, 388
and makes a run for Libby's garrison, 388
his phenomenal leaps mentioned by Southgate, 388
is shot at the fort gate by the savages, 389, *vide* note
and scalped, 389
killing of, mentioned by Parson Smith, 390, note
Dreuillettes, Père Gabriel, first Jesuit priest to begin conversion of Abenake, 24, note
mission among Canibas known as Mission of the Assumption, 24, note
preceded by Biart, who came as an explorer, 24, note
the period of his labor on the Kennebec, 24, note
chapel at old Cushanna (Augusta), probably his, 301
Drew, John, killed at Canso, 210
a Portsmouth lad, 210
Drewsville, 475, note
Duchambon, succeeds Duquesnel as Governor of Cape Breton, 313
his faculty for blundering, 328
summoned to surrender by Pepperrell, 329
Maisonforte and MacDonald sent to, with information of capture of *Vigilant*, 330

Duchambon, sends for Marin, who has undertaken the siege of Annapolis, 331
sends La Perelle with billet to Warren and Pepperrell, 332
his proposals rejected by latter, 332
Dudley (Thaxter and Atkinson), at Albany, 275
meets commissioners of New York Province, 275
Dudley, Ann, 132, note
Dudley, Col. William, mentioned, 158, note
(and Samuel Thaxter), envoys to New France, 249
Dudley, Governor, calls a Peace Convention with the Abenake at Casco, 18
meets the Abenake there, 18-21
presented with a wampum-belt, 20
makes many promises to the Abenake, 20
lavish with gifts to the Indians, 20
plot of Indians to capture, fails by non-arrival of French, 21, note
deluded by Abenake, 22
urges rebuilding of fort at Pemaquid, 22
plans to restore Kennebec to English, 22
proposes aggressive warfare against French, 22
the colonists a set of traders, 22
appropriations refused, 22
instructs Wheelright to attach Stephen Harding as guide to the Pequawket expedition, 31
mentioned, 39
Courtemanche dines with, 81
ordered by Queen Anne to repair Fort William and Mary at Newcastle, 85
is dilatory, 85
his agents keep him informed of movements of the French, 87
apprehensive of, 87
kept a scouting-party between Kingston and Salmon Falls, 87
warned by Colonel Schuyler of large force of French and Indians on way to Piscataqua River, 89
sends expresses to the frontier, 89
orders close garrison duty, 89
his precautions unavailing, 92
his integrity questioned by Church in the expedition to Acadia, 99, 100
his excuse, 100

Dudley, Governor, his critics accord a less flattering reason for his apparent laches, 100
compelled to exonerate himself, 100
the locating of the malfeasances of others smirched his reputation, 100
the abortive expedition against Port Royal, 101, 102
misconduct alleged in a petition to the queen, 102, note
the New Hampshire Assembly voted some of the charges scandalous, 102, note
and draw up a counter-petition to the queen of acquittal and justification, 102, note
some privateers sail down to Port Royal, 102
encounter the French, 102
field officer, Major Walton, puts the latter to the run, 103
his force too small, 103
all efforts against French to the eastward abortive, 103
his and the supineness of the Colonial Council, 117
urges movement against Quebec, 119
his disposition to temporize, 119, *vide* note
his interest in himself, 119, note
sends Vetch to Vaudreuil with a letter, 119
his disposition against Canada on the verge of action, 120
urges the Massachusetts Assembly to undertake aggressive movement, 121
his suggestion, 121
mentions past expenditures, 121
his movement not precipitate, 121
follows usage of Long Parliament in ordering a monthly fast-day through campaign against Quebec, 146
mentioned in Portsmouth Articles of Peace, 154, note, 157, note
is succeeded by Samuel Shute as governor, 182
Dudley, Governor Thomas, 132, note
Dudley, Rev. Samuel, 132, note
Du Loup (River), 440, note
Dummer, Fort (Hinsdale), 360
Bridgeman's fort near, 367
Indians in neighborhood of, 405
maintenance of, in controversy, 433
its location, 433
settlers began to return to their plantations eastward, 433
Massachusetts sends men to, 458, note
"Great Gun" at, 477, note

Dummer, Gov. William, informs Vaudreuil of the latter's letter to Ralé in his possession, 247
the controversy over the destruction of Norridgewock, 247
Vaudreuil's vaporings do not disturb, 248, *vide* note
sincerely desires peace, 249
sends as envoys to Vaudreuil, Thaxter and Dudley, 249
also Vaudreuil's letter to Ralé, 249
an unanswerable accusation, 249
demands release of English prisoners, by envoys, 250
the conference with the Abenake, 250
at Falmouth with his retinue, attends Peace Conference with Indians, 283
a letter from Wenamouit, 284, and note
latter comes to Falmouth, 284
treaty ratified, 284, 285
adds his signature to, 284
Dummer treaty, with eastern Indians basis for compact of October, 1749, 409
renewed (October, 1753), 447
mentioned, 450
Dummer, William, Lieut.-Gov., takes up Shute's fight with General Court, 198
New England born, 198
his salary refused, payment of, 198
obliged to capitulate, 199
shorn of his executive independence, 199
wrote Vaudreuil of the murder of Willard, 213
compares the latter with "Mr. Ralle," 214
yields to exactions of the General Court, 231
whereupon he is afforded the means to carry on war against eastern Indians, 231
Dumont, the assassin, 10
"Dunkirk," American, a description of, 314-316
Louisburg known as, 316
Dunning, David, gives alarm to garrison at St. Georges, 192, note
escapes the savages, 193, note
Dunstable, garrison surprised, 90, *vide* note
Joseph Kilburn and Jeremiah Nelson killed at, 92, note
John Pickard wounded, 92, note
Indians at, capture Nathan Cross and Thomas Blanchard, 240, *vide* note
posse of settlers made up to pursue savages, 240, and note

Dunstable, ten principal inhabitants of the place, 240, note
of whom Joseph Farwell was one, 240, note
Farwell's advice ignored, 240, note
ambushed and cut to pieces, 240, note
at a brook near Lutwyche's (now Thornton's Ferry), 241, note
French, the leader of the English, killed, 242, note
Farwell's narrow escape, 242, note
the remainder of the party killed, 242, note
settlers bury the bodies of their friends in the Dunstable burying-ground, 242, note
another party of English ambushed at, 241
settlers defend themselves, but leave the fight with one killed and four wounded, 241
Lovewell leaves, for Pequawket, 259
relief party sent from, 273
Duquesne, Fort (Pittsburg), 430
expedition against, planned by English, 460
Duquesne, Governor of New France, orders fortifications along Bienville's trail, 424
Duquesnel, M., Governor at Cape Breton, 310
sends Duvivier to take Canso, 311
his action precipitate, 312
his uncertain temper, 312
his death, 313
Durell, Captain, killed at Durell's Island, 255
Durell's Island, garrison at, attacked by Indians, 255
Captain Durell killed, after which Indians left the island, 255, 256
Durrell, Philip, of Kennebunk, family of, captured by savages, 286
his house burned, 286
family Bible found in the woods, 286
captives taken to Canada, 286
killed on the way, 286
boy sold to the French, 286
regains his liberty, 286
his subsequent habits those of a red man, 286
Dustin, Hannah, mentioned, 220
Dutch in the English colonies, 426
Dutch-English, mentioned, 65
in league with Canada to prevent breach among Indians on New York frontier, 77

Duvivier, sent with an armed squadron against Canso, 311
goes to France, 313
Dwight, Captain, of Fort Dummer, encounters the savages, with a considerable loss, 282

East Bay, Vaudreuil leaves his canoes at, on his expedition against Fort Massachusetts, 370
Eastern River, highway of the Penobscots to Norridgewock, 300, note
Easthampton (Pascommuck), 71, note
fort at, surprised and captured by savages, 71, 72, *vide* notes on same
Eastman, an English hunter captured by the savages at Baker's River, 434, 435
Eaton, man of that name killed at North Yarmouth, 405
Eaton, Daniel, ambushed by savages at Maquoit, 491, note
is wounded and captured, 491, note
and taken to Canada, 491, note
Eaton, Moses, father of Daniel, captured at Maquoit, was killed at Pleasant Point (1722), 491, note
Eaton, Samuel, sent by Captain Gyles to Harmon with message, 196, note
which he ties in an eel-skin and hides in his hair, 196, note
Edgar, a Brunswick settler, captured and sent to Canada, 192
Edward, Fort, Nicholson builds, 129
Nicholson and his forces at, 129
becomes a burying-ground, 129
New Hampshire contingent at, 460
mentioned, 497
only outpost of English between Albany and foot of Lake Champlain, 498
Webb left undisturbed at, 498
by the French, who had retired to Canada, 498
Edwards, Nathaniel, of Northampton, killed by the savages, 241
Eliot's converts at Natick annoy neighboring settlers, 50
Elliot, Captain (and Captain Robinson), at Canso, wounded severely, pulls his vessel into Canso, 210
ordered to join Robinson, 210
Elliott, Nathaniel, and his son, two settlers of that name, killed by the savages at Saco Falls, 393, and note
Ely, Joseph, one of the soldiers wounded in the defence of the garrison at Number-Four, 385

INDEX

Emery, Edward, killed by the Indians while hunting beaver at New-found Pond, 496, note
Eneas, signs peace treaty at Portsmouth, 158, note
England declares war against France, 10, 18
prospects of peace between France and, 406
English, attitude of, toward Indians, 15
at peace council at Casco, 18–21
await coming of Watanummon, from Pigwacket, to complete council, 21, note
latter's delay premeditated, 21, note
settlers unsuspecting, 23
frontier had not expanded after Peace of Ryswick, 24
earlier settlements reoccupied, 24
relations of, to Indians those of forbearance, 24
had not forgotten St. Castin's War, 24
attacks of Indians on, began with cabin of Thomas Purchas, 25
a struggling population, 26
cabins of, strung along the King's Road, 26, also note
descend to the plane of savage barbarity, 47, note
settlers unable to live in proximity to Eliot's converts at Natick, 50
at Deerfield, pursue De Rouville, 60
ambushed, 60
compelled to retreat, 60
offensive tactics of, against the Indians, do not prevent depredations, 63
raids of the savages intended to check advance of, over eastern frontier, 65
Kennebec River the boundary, 65
afforded the nearest market, 65
sold Indians whatever they desired, 65
New York frontier undisturbed, 65
reason for, 65
adventure of, on Drake's Island, 68, 69
frontier quiet last half of 1704, 71
send "Captain Laraby" upon a cruise along Acadian coast, 82
Captain Fowle sent out in a war-sloop, 82
find the Acadians willing prisoners, 82
cut out a sloop from Placentia Bay, 88
conditions of the settlers on the frontier, 100
no settlements east of Saco River, 100
settlers about the Piscataqua suffered alike, 100

English, also poor and discouraged, 101
hardly a family but had lost by savage butchery or captivity, 101
efforts of, against the French to the eastward do not restrain ravages of the Indians, 103
settlers hardy and reckless, 108
danger a part of their existence, 109
warned by Schuyler of the Du Chaillons expedition, 111
order a patrol of the country from Cocheco to Kingston, 111
elation of, after capture of Port Royal, sends Nicholson to England to interest the Ministry in an expedition against Canada, 144
description of combined forces in expedition against Quebec, 145, *vide* note, 146, note
sail out of Boston for Quebec, 145
under command of Admiral Walker, 145
beset in St. Lawrence River by fog, 146
a part of English fleet wrecked by the gale, 146
the rendezvous at Cape Breton Island, 147
ships of, sail for England, 147
failure of, a blow to the colonies, 147
receive a deputation of Norridgewocks, 177
who ask that their church be rebuilt, 177
caustic rebuke of English sincerity by Norridgewock deputy, 177, note, 178, note
their request granted, 178
devastations of English frontier by the savages charged to the French, 179
conditions referred to as existing before Philip's War, 179
areas once blossoming with arts of peace, a wilderness, 179
Portsmouth Convention opens up the wilderness, 179
cabins and mills go up, 179, 180
the piping times of peace, 180
conference of Georgetown, 183, 184
demand reparation for Indian ravages, following, 184
Indian promises to, 184, 185
leave four hostages with, 185
Shute's promises unfulfilled, 185
another conference at Georgetown, 185
Indians inclined toward, 185
array of Indians at Georgetown, 185, *vide* note
Penhallow wary, 185
upshot of, a letter of Ralé delivered for the governor, 185

English, unaware of movement of Indians along New Hampshire frontier, 200
activities of, at Canso, 210
drive French and Indians from the Acadian coast, 210
fit out two shallops against Indian freebooters in eastern waters, 228
come upon the water-pirates, 228
but sail back to Portsmouth without engaging them, 228
Dr. Jackson's party (with Lakeman), out of Ipswich, chases Indians into Penobscot Bay, 228
compelled to pull out of the fight, 228
Jackson and a Mr. Cutts, of Kittery, wounded, 228
determined upon the destruction of Norridgewock, 228
Westbrook expedition had revealed Ralé's complicity as an agent of the French, 228, 229
efforts of, with French to abate these atrocities, 229
only safety for, within the walls of the garrisons, 229
butcheries of, an every-day affair, 229
charged with great brutality and ferocity at the destruction of Norridgewock, 237, note
also with mangling and scalping Ralé, 237, note
and of killing women and children, 237, note
Abenake demand restoration of lands, 248, note
and rebuilding of their church at Norridgewock, 248, note
title to lands and boundaries, 249, note
conference unsatisfactory to, 249, note
anxious for peace, 250
sound the Penobscots as to their disposition for, 250
exploit of Captain Heath indicative of limits of English diplomacy with the savage, 250
small esteem of Mother Country for her New World colony on the Gulf of Maine, 256
the Puritan not an object of solicitude to home government, 256
declare war against the Indians, 295
in Acadia, 296–298
in Shirley's War, offer reward for scalps of Indian men, women, or children, 303
call for volunteers to watch movements of the savages, 303
situation among, discouraging, 303
put all forts and garrison-houses in state of defence, 309
with varying degrees of activity, 309
grown timid with years of peace, 309, 312, note

English, cabins of the frontier described, 309, note
capture of Canso by the French reveals the situation clearly, 312, 313, *vide* note
coast navigation of, menaced, 313
a survey of the frontier settlements, 313
abandon many of their settlements, 313
activity of, in movement to invest Louisburg, 317–322
fleet sails for Canso, 323
under command of Captain Edward Tyng, 322, *vide* note
supported by Captain Rous, 322
chief in command of, William Pepperrell, 322
artillery under Richard Gridley, 322, *vide* note
Samuel Waldo was second in command of, 323, *vide* note
make a landing at Cape Breton, 326
fleet captures the French *Vigilant*, 329
anticipate reprisals on the part of the French, 340
hear of the victory of Culloden, 340
also some rumors of the coming of D'Anville, 340
celebrate the Louisburg victory by a thanksgiving, 341
troops in Boston, 341
precautions taken by, against surprise, 341
invocations of the Rev. Thomas Prince for the dispersion of the French fleet, 341
which were singularly answered, 341
make no attempt to stop ravages of the Canibas along the Kennebec after the peace compact at Falmouth, 413
sold their Indian captives into slavery at the Barbadoes, 414
established a precedent, 414
compared with the practice of the French buying English captives to be held for ransom, 414
a practice outside the code of civilization, 414
as a piece of barbarism, 415
seemed to learn nothing from the mishaps of the colonies, 415
elimination of French influence in Canada necessary to peace of New England, 416
their hamlets stretched from the Hudson to beyond the Sagadahoc, 419
growth of New France compared with, 419
war with New France had been burdensome, 420
amount of indebtedness incurred, 420
commerce on the sea destroyed, 420
amount of currency in bills issued by, 420

English, ratio of value to coin, 420
demands upon, equal to increase in population, 420
yet settlements were extended, and the public credit revived, 420
attitude toward the French a passive one in Nova Scotia, 422
but to be otherwise along the Virginia border, 422
occupancy of Virginia opposed to claims of the French, 424
claimed the Ohio lands, 424
trading-posts of, in the Ohio Valley, 424
wherein the settlements of the English differed from those of New France, 426
composition of, 426
their agreed purpose, 426
various peoples who made up the settlements of, not only differed in manners and customs, but in language, 426
had no use for the savage, 427
with "few points of affinity," 427
demand, through Christopher Gist and George Washington, the removal of the French from the Ohio Valley, 428
which is ignored by St. Pierre, 428
the return of Gist and Washington to Virginia, 428, 429
action of the British Ministry in the matter, 429
the Virginia Colony at once raises a regiment, with Washington in command, 429
which marches for Great Meadows, 429
send a party of exploration into the Coos wilderness, 433
with an intent to open up that country, 434
recede from their intention upon remonstrance by the Aresaguntacooks, 433, 434
attacked at Baker's River, 434
two captured, 434
two Indians killed at Canterbury by a settler, 435, *vide* note
renew Dummer treaty with Indians (October, 1753), 447, *vide* note
their efforts to maintain friendliness of the Indians, 447
settlers rapidly taking up lands, 447
and forts built, 447
meet the objections of the Canibas to the building of Fort Halifax by a profert of title from former's ancestors, 454, and note
an amicable agreement, 454, 455, and note
support of English troops generous, 460

English, plan to send three expeditions against the French, 460
points of proposed attack, 460
the men from New Hampshire, 460
build bateaux at Bakers-town, 460
go by Number-Four to Albany, 460
defeat of Dieskau by, 460, 461, note
more men sent by New Hampshire, 461
line of forts extends from Salmon Falls to St. Georges River, 461
can no longer ignore depredations of Indians, 463
offer bounty for scalps, also for Indian captives, 463
prefer service in Acadia to hunting Indians, 463
establish scouts along seacoast, 464
strengthen the frontier forts, 464
garrison Forts Halifax and Western with men and stores, 464
efforts of, to propitiate the Tarratines, 464
to keep them from joining the French, 464
Captain Cargill and some others from Newcastle butcher a party of Indians at Owl's Head, 465
his brutality a deadly affront to the Tarratines, 465
make many presents to the Tarratine sachems who are in Boston at that time, 465
request their assistance in the prosecution of Cargill and his men, 465
which resulted in imprisonment of Cargill, 465
under Braddock, defeated on the Ohio, 465
fail to capture Crown Point, 466
expedition of, against Niagara fails, 466
Winslow reclaims Nova Scotia, 466
depopulate Acadia of the French Neutrals, 466, 467, note, also 468, note
Shirley the instigator of the movement, 467
a story of, one likes to forget, 468
conquest of Acadia, with defeat of Dieskau, only accomplishments of, in 1755, 468
settlements, savages lurk undiscovered near, 469, 470
organize scouting-parties, 471
scour Maine from Lebanon River to Saco, 471
also from Saco to Gray by Sebago Lake and New Gloucester, 471
also between Gray and Fort Shirley, 471
also from Fort Shirley to Thomaston (St. Georges), 471
no Indians were discovered, 471

INDEX

English, forts at Muscongus, Meduncook, Pleasant Point, and at the Narrows above St. Georges garrison, 471, 472
desire active alliance with the Tarratines, 471
declare war against, 471
not in the interest of the settler, 471
desired the extermination of the Indians, 473
Massachusetts sends troops into Maine to guard the frontier, 473
failure of, to dislodge French from Crown Point encourages the savages in their raids on the English, 473
wood-rangers surprise a band of savages at New Hopkinton, 473
trade of, had declined, 488
crops of, devoured by pests, 488
outlook for settlers an anxious one, 488
war of, to the westward, of fruitless results, 488
along Connecticut River a prey to depredations of the savages, 488
at St. Georges, suspicious of the flags of truce sent in by the Tarratines, 491
officered by faint-hearted men, 498
activity of the colonies under the lead of Pitt, 499, 500
fail in attack on Ticonderoga, 502
capture Fort Frontenac, 503
also Louisburg, 504
command Ohio Valley, 505
had isolated the French at Crown Point, 505
prepare for a campaign against Canada, 505
plan of campaign, 505
its objective the conquest of Quebec, 505
French abandon Ticonderoga to the, 505
Niagara in hands of, 507
Stanwix holds Niagara River to Lake Erie, 507
fleet of, under Saunders anchors before Quebec, 507
Wolfe occupies Orleans Island, 507
occupies Point Levi, 507
Quebec partly destroyed by an English shell, 507
some consideration of the situation of, at the opening of the War of King Philip, and that at the close of the French and Indian War, 516, 517
the character of the men and women who made the occupation of eastern New England possible, 517
English, Jo, captured by the Indians, escapes, 93, note
savages had endeavored to retake him, 93, note

English, Jo, ambushed and killed in Kingston, 93, 94, note
English Ministry, not over-anxious about the New England Puritans, 256
mentioned, 316
little concerned with the good or ill of the colonies, 407
Estournelle, D', succeeds D'Anville in command of French fleet, 242, note
his death by suicide, 341
Europe strewn with numerous small powers, 8
war a common occupation, 8
Evangeline (of Longfellow), 467, note
Evans, Benjamin, of Dover, ambushed by the savages and killed, 279
Evans, Benjamin, Jr., a son of Benjamin, ambushed by the savages at Dover, 279
captured and taken to Canada, 279
redeemed by a "charitable collection," 279
Evans, Edward, house of, in the Larrabee garrison, 215
Evans, John, of Dover, wounded by the savages, 279
and scalped, 279
Evans, William, of Dover, wounded by the savages, 279
who finally cut his throat to finish their victim, 279
Exeter, mentioned, 96
savages waylay the Gilman brothers at, 103
a man shot at, 105, *vide* note
Colonel Hilton buried at, 133
Indians infest roads of, 133
capture four children, 133
also John Wedgewood, 133
the dream of John Magoon of, 133, 134
kill a settler, Cunningham, 147
Exeter woods, savages loiter in, 76

"Fair Captive, The," 478
Falmouth, Governor Dummer at, 283
attends confirmation of peace treaty at, 283
a year later conference mentioned, 286
a prosperous community, 308
mentioned, 349, *vide* note
savages attack some soldiers in Westcott's field, 356
kill two and take their scalps, 356
garrison at, aroused, 356
savages driven into the woods, 356

Falmouth, savages' design to attack Frost's garrison at Stroudwater, 356
Parson Smith notes the spirit of the townsmen to go after the Indians, 357
mentions price of Indian scalps, 357
also four companies of militia at, 357
also the alarm of the settlement, 358
savages lurk among the woods of, 397, *vide* note
attack Foster garrison, 397, *vide* note
settlers in constant danger, 398
news of peace received at, 406
the place appointed for the making of the peace compact with the eastern Indians, 408
Boston commissioners at, 409
Indians come in, 409
conference held in First Parish Meeting-house, 409, *vide* note
old Dummer treaty basis of new treaty, 409
Hutchinson and Otis here, 409, note
mentioned, 410
the scene of another treaty (1749) with the Indians, 437
commissioners of New Hampshire attended officially, 437
Parson Smith makes note of the occasion, 437, note
the ominous message of the Aresaguntacooks, 437, 438
trouble brewing elsewhere, 438, 439
rumor brought into, by Captain Waldo, of the coming of the French fleet, terrifies the Provincials, 495
people of, discouraged, 495
a dry year, 495
crops burnt up, 495
public fast observed at, 495
Farnsworth, David, captured by the savages at Number-Four, 496
Farnsworth, Ebenezer, captured by the Indians at the Johnson house at Number-Four, 458
Farnsworth, Samuel, a brother of Stephen, killed by the savages at Charleston, 363, note, 366, note
Farnsworth, Stephen, captured by the savages at Number-Four, 362
afterward comes into Boston under a flag of truce, 363, *vide* note
Farrar, Jacob, of Concord, one of Capt. John Lovewell's company at Pequawket, 275, note
Farrar, John, killed by the Indians, 104, note
Farrar, Joseph, of Concord, one of Capt. John Lovewell's company at Pequawket, 275, note

Farwell, a settler of that name captured by the savages near Seabody Pond in New Gloucester, 462, note
Farwell, Joseph, a lieutenant in Lovewell's expedition to Pequawket, 260, 275, note
wounded, 267
perished from wounds in Saco woods, 272, and note
Fay, Mary, escapes capture by the savages at Northborough, 104, note
Felt, Capt. John, sails his sloop into Kennebunk River, 216
ambushed by the Indians and killed at Gooch Creek mill, with two of his men, 216
was buried in a field near Butland's Rocks, 217
killed almost at the gates of Harding's garrison, 222
Fenwick, Sir John, 11
Ferrel, Captain, captured with his sloop, 88
Ferry Rocks (Cammock's Neck), 44
Field, Darby, the first white explorer of White Mountains, 257, note
Finney, Molly, captured in the raid on Maines' house at Flying Point, 483
marries Captain McLellan, who helps her to escape from Quebec, 484, note
First Parish Meeting-house (Falmouth) scene of Peace Conference of colonies with eastern Indians, 409
Fisher, Josiah, killed at Upper Ashuelot, 361
Fish-house Hill, Indians at, 195, note
in Brunswick, 195, note
Five Nations, not to be aroused, 65
friends of the Dutch-English, 65
Flanders, Ezekiel, killed by the savages while hunting beaver at New-found Pond, 496, note
Flat Point Cove, Pepperrell's storehouses at, 331
sortie against, fails, 331
Fletcher, Pendleton, captured at Winter Harbor, 134
ransomed by the garrison, 135
his previous adventures, 135
Fletcher's Point, a landmark of the Fletcher family, 135
Flint, a settler of that name shot by the savages at Walpole, 474
the brutality of the savages in their mutilation of, 474, note
Flying Point, raided by the savages, 482
who kill a settler named Maines, 482
and capture Molly Finney, 482
Folsom, with the New Hampshire men, defeats Dieskau, 460

Folsom, John, butchered in savage raid on Nottingham, 387
Folsom's men mentioned, 490
Forbes, advances to Ray's Town, 502, note
orders Boquet forward to Loyal Hanna, 502, note
his advance followed, 502
Force, La, joins Vaudreuil in his advance on Fort Massachusetts, 371
Fore (Casco) River, 38, note
Forks of the Ohio site of modern Pittsburg, 424
Fort, Lovewell's, at Ossipee Lake, 260, note
a description of the site of, 260, note, 261, note, 262, note
discovery of three skeletons near, 262, note
and some Indian relics, 262, note
once the country of the Ossipees, 262, note
Fort Hill (Gorhamtown), the fort on, of ample dimensions, 349
described and located, 349
its armament, 349, *vide* note
Fort Loyal and St. Castin, 15, note
Foster (Frost) garrison, attacked, 397, *vide* note
Williamson gives the name as "Frost," 397, note
vide Frost
Fowle, Captain, sent by the English in a war-sloop to Acadia, 82
captured some small craft near Cape Sable, 82
calls at "Port Rosua" (Rossignol), 82
also at La Have, 82
takes some of the French prisoners and burns some houses, 82
finds the Acadians willing prisoners, 82
France, exultant over death of William III., 10
and England, war declared between, 18
declares war against England, 295
originated in the Austrian succession, 295
continued until the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was consummated, 295
theater of action outside New England, 295
boundaries of, 295
Indians become actively aggressive, 295
Isle Royale (Cape Breton) only remnant of Acadia left to, 295
controls mouth of St. Lawrence by its strategic position, 295
peace between England and, 406
Cape Breton ceded to, by English, 406
with news of war between England and, Indians begin attacks on settlers, 456
Frankfort, on the route of the Penobscots, west, 300, note

Frankfort, mentioned, 411, 448, 453
savages kill two men at, 462
Tufts and Marston surprised and captured by Indians, 469
scouting-party at, 471
vide Dresden
Frederick, Fort (Crown Point), the objective of Vaudreuil's expedition, 370
Free fishing and fowling reserved to the Indians in Portsmouth treaty, 156, note
French, one, leads the Dunstable settlers against the Indians, 240, note, continued through 242
a sergeant of militia, 240, note
his foolhardy rejection of Farwell's advice, 241, note
is killed by the savages, 242, note
the destruction of his party, with the exception of one man, the penalty, 242, note
French and Indians mentioned as on their way to attack Deerfield, 53
French and Indian War, 419
causes of, 419-433
precipitated by Washington's attack on M. de Jumonville, 432
formally declared, 432, note
French Compte, Ralé born in, 174
French Creek (Waterford, Penn.), 424
Fort Le Bœuf at, 424
French Jesuits control the eastern Indians, instigated by the French, 303
French, Nathan, killed by the savages near Hinsdale Fort, 405, 406
French neutrals, Acadians became known as, 298
join Marin in siege of Annapolis, 331
exiled from Acadia, 466, 467, and note, 468, and note
French, The, masters of situation, 15
and Indians, plot of, to capture Dudley and his council at Casco, 21, note
at Montreal, jealous of English occupancy of the Abenake wilderness, 23
war between England and France sufficient pretense for hostilities, 23
every garrison regarded as a menace, 23, 24
had taken their time to prepare for an attack on English settlements, 29
a small party of, leave Canada for Casco Bay, 29

French, The, regarded Stephen Harding, of Wells, as a valuable capture, 31
purpose to commit the Abenake to their cause irrevocably, 65
always urging them against the English, 65
with the Indians, had built a fort on Coos intervales, 65
find English captives a burden, 77
send Samuel Hill to Boston to negotiate exchange of prisoners, 77
charged with a breach of faith by Massachusetts, 77
and Indians had withdrawn their campaign from eastern New England, 82
to make a diversion against the English in Newfoundland, 82
under Subercase and Assacombuit attacked St. John, 83
capturing and destroying the place, 83
fort at, invested, 83
unable to reduce the fort, Subercase retires, 84
policy of, at Montreal, to attract Indians to that place permanently, 86
better able to direct their operations against the English, 86
expedition to Port Royal against, 101
under Subercase, engage in a skirmish with the English, 101
obliged to recall his men, 101
efforts of English against, to the eastward, abortive, 103
and Indian expedition against Connecticut Valley settlements referred to, 110
plan to ravage the English settlements along the Piscataqua, 110
muster the converts of the Jesuit missions, 110
not easy to persuade the Indians, 110
party made up by Vaudreuil, 111
headed by Saint-Ours des Chaillons and Hertel de Rouville, 111
who divide their force into three sections, 111
each of which takes a different route, 111
Winnepesauke, Lake, the rendezvous, 111
the party weakened by desertion of Hurons and Caughnawagas, 111
go into camp to await the Pequawkets, Norridgewocks, and those from St. Famille, 112
decide to attack Haverhill, 112
the French account of the raid on that place the only one, 112
vide 114, note, 115, note, 116, note
engaged by the Haverhill garrison, 115, 116
losses of the, at, 115, and note

French, The, losses at Haverhill, 115, and note, 116
in sympathy with the barbarities of the savages, 117
some diplomatic overtures by Dudley to (Vaudreuil), 120
a party of, and Indians rumored to be on the way from Montreal, 124
no lack of instigation by, to go on war-path, 137
last expedition of, and Indians, not a marked success, 137
invasion of English settlements by, called for an indomitable hardihood, 138
regarded English in Maine as a menace, 138
underlying principle of their hostile incursions, 138
reduction of Boston an impotent ambition, 138
believed Boston could be corrupted from allegiance to England, 138
La Ronde Denys sent to Boston for that purpose, 138
a chimerical scheme, 139
did not allow aborigine to forget the English heretics, 139
loses Acadia at Peace of Utrecht, 167, 168
humiliation of, by England, 168
able to keep only New France and Isle of Cape Breton, 168
Acadia goes to the English, 168
Treaty of Utrecht enables, to get second wind, 169
numerous causes render war with English imminent, 169
the Abenake under their control, 169
claimed by, as an ally, 169
jealous of English control of fur trade of Hudson Bay, 169
Acadia lost, was to be regained, 170
their fortification of Isle Royale, 170
kept Canada in mind, 170
jealous of the fort-building of the English in Maine, 181
have a resident population in the Penobscot country, 207
Ralé an agent of, under pay, 228
bought captive English of the Indians, 256
for whom they exacted heavy ransoms, 256
make a census of Penobscot warriors, 288
supply same with belts and hatchets, 288
number of warriors, two hundred, 288
after Shirley's War, joined by the Indians, 288
inhabitants of Acadia, their number, 297
not allowed by English to remove to Cape Breton, 297
mentioned, 298
Jesuits, the, instigate the Indians to blood and rapine, 303

French, The, plan capture of Canso, 305
fort at, burned, and garrison carried to Louisburg, 305
regard attack on Canso as precipitate, 312
no plans had been formulated against Acadia, 312
Governor at Cape Breton destroyed last hope of English for continuance of peace, 312
reprisal against, proposed by English, 312
English frontier open to hostile movements of, 313
store-ships for Louisburg driven by gales to the West Indies, 313
had rumors of the expedition against Louisburg, 325
regarded it as an idle tale, 325
not in the best condition at Louisburg, 326
short of stores, 326
surrender of Louisburg a great loss to, 335
suffer from drouth in Canada, 337
under surveillance in Boston, 338, note
get Louisburg by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 338, note
reprisals by, anticipated, 340
fleet of, under D'Anville, wrecked on the Acadian coast, 341
most formidable expedition fitted out against the colonies, 341
a messenger of misfortune to the Cape Sable Indians, 342
D'Estournelle, D'Anville's successor, 342, note
and Indians, under Vaudreuil, set out for English frontier, 370
number of, 370
objective, Fort Frederick, 370
go to East Hoosac, 370
march of, traced, 370, 371
the attack on Fort Massachusetts, 371, 375
bought captives of the Indians captured along the Kennebec River, after the treaty of peace had been entered into, 413
open to grave criticism, 414
compared with the treatment of the Pequods and Wampanoags by the English, 414
a profitable traffic, 415
elimination of, from New World necessary to the prosperity of New England, 416
boundaries between, and English claim immediate attention after Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 421
commissions of the two powers confer over, 421
no friendly accommodation possible, 421
not disposed to yield to the English, 421

French, The, disagreements result in the founding by English of Halifax, near Chibucto Harbor, 421
anticipate the English at Nova Scotia by building a fort at Chibucto Harbor, 422
Acadians revolt against the English and declare for, 422
begin to build forts in Acadia, 422
reach from Chignecto along Bay of Fundy, 422
one of which mounted thirty guns, 422
had two stout forts on the St. John River, 422
another at Bay Verte, 422
which gave unobstructed passage by land to Quebec, 422
French frontier of Virginia attracts attention of English, 422
colonization of the Mississippi by the French, 422, 423
at Biloxi Bay, 423
also Mobile and New Orleans, 423
had erected trading-posts along the Mississippi, Arkansas, Ohio, and Illinois streams, 423
all of which the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle left intact, 423
become active in the Ohio Valley, 423
as in Acadia, 423
begin exploration of Ohio Valley, 423
errand to sound disposition of the Indians of that section, 423
also the selection of defensive sites for trading-posts and forts, 423
to occupy the country in the king's name, 423
and to expel the English who had established trading-posts along the Ohio, 423
Bienville's survey and report made, 423
Ohio Valley claimed by the, 424
possessed all the arteries of navigation of the southwest, 424
odds against their maintenance of these claims, 424
government of, in New France almost feudal, 425
instinct of, for conquest, 425
beginning with expedition of Champlain against Iroquois, 425
conflict between French and English begins in neighborhood of Presqu' Isle, 427
St. Pierre commandant at, 427
demand upon, by Governor Dinwiddie, to remove from English territory, 427
which St. Pierre declines to do, 427
English appear at Fort Le Bœuf under Christopher Gist, 427, 428

French, The, serve written notice on St. Pierre to quit Le Bœuf, 428
St. Pierre's reply, 428
a formal invitation to the French to declare war, 428
George Washington, adjutant-general of the Virginia militia, accompanies Gist, 428
colonies directed by British Ministry to oppose encroachments of, by force of arms, 429
expulsion of, from Ohio Valley to begin, 430
attack the English, 430
surprised by forces under Washington, 430
under De Villiers attack Fort Necessity, 431
the parley, 431
compel evacuation of Fort Necessity, 431
masters of Ohio Valley, 431
war between, and English not formally declared until two years later, 432, *vide* note
the comment of Voltaire, 432
claim the Kennebec (1753), 447
rumored to be building a fort at the headwaters of the Kennebec River, 452, 454, 455
which is promptly investigated by the English, 453, 454
plans of the English against, 460
three expeditions to set out for simultaneous attacks on Fort Duquesne, Niagara, and Crown Point, 460
under Dieskau defeated and captured, 460
Pomeroy describes the onset of, upon the English, 461, note
efforts of, to make allies of the Tarratines, 464
defeat Braddock on the Ohio, 465
neutrals deported from Acadia, 466, 467, and note, 468, note
Benjamin Gaffield's wife sold to, 478
Indians officered by, at Hinsdale, 489, note
rumored expedition of, and Indians, against the forts on the Kennebec does not materialize, 495
fleet of, rumored on its way to destroy the Atlantic shore-towns, 495
victorious everywhere (1756), 498
content with their conquests, retired to Canada, 498
left Webb undisturbed at Fort Edward, 498
and Indian War, contention which brought on, destroyed, 502
driven out of Ohio Valley, 502
forces concentrated in neighborhood of Lake George, 502

French, The, and Indians, large force of, rumored as on way to attack Fort St. Georges, 504
abandon Ticonderoga, 505
retire to Isle aux Noix, 505, note
command entrance to Richelieu River, 506
are driven from the Niagara country, 506, 507
Canada lost to, 509
with the reduction of Montreal, 509
French, Thomas, town clerk of Deerfield, escapes with the town records, 58, note
his house preserved, 58, note
Frontenac, acts of, may be extenuated but never forgotten, 415
Frontenac, Fort, is captured by Colonel Bradstreet, 503
located, 503
mentioned, 504
Frost, Charles, his letter to Baronet Pepperrell, 389, note
Frost, John, of New Hampshire Council, attends treaty formation at Boston, 280, note
Frost, John, killed by the savages near Hinsdale fort, 406
Frost, Major Charles, mentioned, 95
Frost's garrison at Stroudwater menaced by the savages, 357
attacked by Indians, 397
Frost's wife and six children captured, 397, note
Frost killed, 397
Frye, Capt. James, of Andover, 269, note
Frye, Jonathan, the chaplain of Lovewell's expedition against the Pequawkets, 269, 275, note
mortally wounded, 269
son of Capt. James Frye, of Andover, 269, note
sets out a tree in Andover, 269, note
perishes in Saco woods from exposure and starvation, 272, note
Fryeburg, Saco intervales begin at, 259
Lovewell camps within limits of, on his Pequawket expedition, 261
Fulham, Sergeant Jacob, of Weston, of Capt. John Lovewell's company at Pequawket, 275, note

Gaffield, Benjamin, ambushed by the savages at Number-Four, 477
attempts to escape from, and is drowned, 477
his family captured at Bridgeman's fort, 478
his wife sold to the French, 478
is sent to England and then to Boston, 478

Gallissonnière, Count de, Governor of New France, 423
Galusha, Daniel, captured in raid on Dunstable, 90, 91, note
informs enemy of state of the Dunstable garrison, 90, *vide* note
one woman at this garrison escapes, 91, note
hides under a tub in the cellar, 91, note
garrison plundered and set on fire by the savages, 91, note
the woman escapes through a hole in the wall, 92, note
his garrison located, 93, note
Gardner, Captain, in Haverhill massacre, 113, 114, note
Garland, Jacob, waylaid and shot in Cocheco woods, 135
Garrison Cove, John Larrabee at, 44
Garrisons and blockhouses in Maine (1745), 301
committee to lay out and build, 305, note, 306, note
General Court, controversy of, with Governor Shute, 197, 198
rebels at heart, 198
refuse to pay salary of lieutenant-governor, 198
oppose all known to favor the Royalist side of controversy, 199
Dummer objectionable to, 199
his power practically wrested from him, 199
appealed to by Governor Shirley, 303
volunteers called for and rewards offered for the scalps of Indians, man, woman, or child, 303
moves slowly, 304
news of capture of Canso by the French stirs to action, 304
adopts vigorous measures, 304
joint committee of war, 305
vote of supplies for the towns in the county of York, 305, note
in session most of the time during Governor Shirley's War, 306
Shirley's project for capture of Louisburg defeated by, 317
finally won by a single vote, 317
votes ten thousand pounds to the project, 320
method of drawing taxes on same, 320
controversy between Shirley and, 320
comes to its senses and meets demands of the governor, 320
George, Fort, at Brunswick, 180
repaired, 301
a party of soldiers ambushed by the savages between, and Maquoit, 404
two men killed and one captured, 404, *vide* note
Wheeler mentions others, 404, note
George's War, King (Shirley's War), 384, note
Georgetown, mentioned, 180

Georgetown, conference of Shute with Indians at, 183, 184
Indians at, 186, and note
reënforced by Colonel Thaxter and Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe, 186
two men killed at, 345
two captured gathering rock-weed, 345
a Mrs. Thompson captured, 345
Indians burn the house of a settler, 412
who escapes, 412
an object of especial hatred to the Canibas, 439
Georgia, exiled Acadians mentioned in connection with, 468
Germans in the English settlements, 426
Gerrish, Paul, 35, note
Gibraltar, 11
Gibraltar of New France (Louisburg), 316
Gibson, James, a Boston merchant, aids Shirley to get favorable vote of General Court, 321, note
Gig, The (Thomaston), Tarratines camp at, 492
attacked by the English scouts, 493
Giles, Mark, surprised and shot at Dover, 64
Gillet, a Deerfield settler, killed in "The Bars Fight," 376
Gilman, Captain, accompanies Hilton on his expedition, 48
is paid five pounds by the government, 48
Gilman, Jacob, ambushed, 103
his narrow escape, 104, note
Gilman, Jacob, of Kingston, captured, 132
Gilman, Jeremiah, a son of, captured by the Indians, 124
Gilman, John, of New Hampshire "house" attends treaty formation at Boston, 280, note
and ratification of, at Falmouth, 280, note
Gilman, Stephen, ambushed by savages between Exeter and Kingston, 103
escapes, 103, note
Gilson, Joseph, of Groton, of Capt. John Lovewell's company at Pequawket, 275, note
Gist, Christopher, acts as guide for George Washington to Fort Le Bœuf, 427, 428
expert backwoodsman. 428
had been a prisoner at Presqu' Isle, 428
Gist plantation, Washington at, 431, note
Glasgow, 93, note
Gloucester (New), blockhouse built at, 484

Gloucester (New), a frontier settlement and much exposed to savage attack, 484
was maintained through the war, 484
Godfrey comments on Peace Compact of Casco, 285
Goff, Lieutenant-Colonel, at Georgetown, 186
ordered to Number-Four by Webb, 496
approach of, to, drives the savages away, 497
goes through, on his way to Albany, 497
Gold (and Levinston) ambassadors from Connecticut to Five Nations, 77
Gondolas mentioned, 230, note
Gooch, Benjamin, goes with Hodson, Dane, and Nicholas Cole after cattle, 69
ambushed by savages, 69
hides under the river-bank, 70
sees Cole butchered, scalped, and his gun thrown into the river, 70
the gun found ninety-six years later, 70
Gooch, Benjamin, of Wells, given liberty to till highway, 140, note
Goodenow, Mary, killed and scalped at Northborough, 104, note
Goodwin, Capt. Samuel, relieves the fort at Richmond, 411
(with Captain Lithgow) in charge of Kennebec region, 448
Gordon, Joseph, killed by the savages at Saco, 359
Gordon, Pike, captured by the savages at Saco, 359
taken to Canada, 359
Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, once proprietor of Palatinate of Maine, 257, note
Gorges, Thomas, explores White Mountains, 257, note
relative of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, 257, note
Gorhamtown, voted one hundred pounds, 305, note
mentioned, 308
a part of Narragansett No. 7, 308
vide Narragansett No. 7
Capt. John Phinney its first settler, 347
number of families at beginning of Shirley's War, 347
population of, at that time, 347
before Shirley's War, more Indians than whites in, 348
Indian made his home at settler's fireside, 348
to become an enemy once hostilities between French and English had begun, 348
Phinney garrison on Fort Hill the salvation of the whites, 348
distance from, to Falmouth, 348

Gorhamtown, Phinney joined by other settlers, 348
permanent Indian settlement not far from fort, 348
planting-lands of the Sokoki in neighborhood, 348
which extended from the Presumpscot River to Lake Sebago, 348
and as far as the village of the Pequawkets, 348
directly in path of eastern Indians to settlements farther west, 348
ravaged early in the conflict, 349
Indians intimately acquainted with habits of settlers of, 349
most important settlement except Falmouth east of Scarborough, 349
its fort located, 349
described, 349
its armament, 349
its swivel-guns taken to Falmouth in Revolutionary War and never returned, 349, note
used at, as signal-guns to warn outlying settlers of proximity of Indians, 350
raided by the savages, 350-354
the massacre of the Bryant family, 352
the escape of the McLellans, 352
Read captured and Mosher killed, 352
Read and Cloutman taken to Canada, 353
signal-gun brings a file of men from Falmouth, 353, 354
the first foray of the savages upon, 354
undisturbed until following year, 354
settlers held to their lands and cabins, 354
Indian camps discovered near-by a scouting-party, and the remains of a feast, 389, note
also numerous signs of a large party of savages in the vicinity, 389, note
in need of necessaries of life and more men, 390, note
harassed by the presence of Indians along the Presumpscot River, 398
who were well acquainted with the locality, 399
adventure of Edmund Phinney at, 399
fort at, was the dwelling-place of most of the neighboring settlers for some years, 399
lean days in, 400
a woman of, goes to Falmouth in the night for meal for the family, 400, note

Gorhamtown, woman buys a half-bushel of corn with her last penny, 400, note
taking it to the mill at Capisic, has it ground, after which she returns in the dark of the next night to her home, 400, note
Indians cross upper edge of, into New Marblehead, 401
Bartholomew Thorn captured by savages at, 441
virtually at peace with Indians when Thorn was captured, 442
settlers kept their guns handy, 442
and for greater safety wrought together in the fields, 442
in the fort were ten families, 442
aroused by a dog, 442
Mrs. McLellan's famous shot, 443
an intended attack on, frustrated, 444
butchery of the Bryants and the Peales referred to, 461
Joseph Knight captured at, 481
Gounitogon, River, 248, note
Grand Banks mentioned, 160, note
Grand Pré, the Acadians exiled from, 468, note
manner of executing the order for, 468, note, 469, note
last day of the Acadians at, 470, note
Grant, Major, operates under Boquet in Forbes's expedition, 502, note
Graves, Daniel, captured by the savages in a flax-field at Green River, 489, note
Graves, John, escapes capture by the savages at Green River, 489, note
a son of Daniel, 489, note
Gray (New Boston), savages at, 462
Gray, John, a lieutenant at Castle William, 307, note
Gray Lock, with his band, raids Springfield, 150, note
sachem of the Waranokes, 210
raids Northfield with a small party of savages, 210
kills two men, 210
is pursued, 211
goes to Rutland, 211
where three men are killed, 211, note
captures another, 211, note
attacks a house in Oxford, 211, note
repelled by a woman, with a loss of one of his party, 211, note
kills two Stevens boys, 212
captures two brothers of, 212
fails to ambush Davis and his son, 212

Gray Lock, attacks the town minister, Joseph Willard, 212, *vide* note
his fort known as Masserquick, 283, note
Wright's expedition against, 283, note
Great Britain mentioned, 154, note
Great Falls, Richard Walker escapes the savages at, 396
sawmill burned at, by the savages, 397
Great Meadows (New Marblehead), posse of English wound Indian at, 486
and capture some guns and packs, 486
Great Meadows, Connecticut Valley, Indians at, 360
where they capture William Phips as he was hoeing corn, 360
his adventure and his death, 361
savages come upon fort at, 361
where they capture Nehemiah How, 360
fort at, alarmed and one Indian is shot, 361
no effort made to rescue How, 361
David Rugg killed in a canoe near, 361
his companion, Robert Baker, escapes, 361
three other settlers, hearing the guns, escape, 361
one of whom was Caleb How, son of Nehemiah, 362
Great Meadows, Ohio Valley, Washington at, 430
surprises the French, 430
kills ten and captures twenty-one, 430
among whom was M. Jumonville, the French leader, 430
a stockade is built at, 430
named by Washington "Fort Necessity," 430
evacuated, 431
the scene of Washington's first and last capitulation, 432
French and Indian War was here precipitated, 432
the baleful prophecy of the fight at, 439
Great (Massacre) Pond, in Scarborough, 162
Hunniwell and his party killed at, 162, also note
the last tragedy in Queen Anne's War, 163
Great Spirit mentioned, 177, note
Green, the name of a young man who escaped from Hall's house on Matinicus Island after Indians began attack on, 495
Green Islands, Captain Winslow sets out from St. Georges for, 221
encounters savages, and his party is annihilated, 221, 222
mentioned, 226
Green, Jonathan, killed at Hampton, 44, note
Green Mountains, 54

Green River, Rev. John Williams's wife killed at, 60
flax-harvesters attacked at, 489
two men escaped; one was shot; the others were captured, 489, note
Green River Farms, settlers ambushed by the Indians at, 282, note
Gridley, Richard, chief of artillery in Louisburg expedition, 322
Grosvenor, John, killed by the Indians while haying in Brookfield, 134, note
Groton, savages at, 76, *vide* note
Lieutenant Wyler killed in fight at, 76
savages appear from Dunstable, in neighborhood of, 95
kill two of the settlers, capture one other, 95
settler waylaid by savages, 103
John Shattucks and his son killed at, 124, note
raided by savages, 224
last man killed in, in this war, 224, note
Grout, Hilkiah, ambushed by the savages at Number-Four, 477
makes his escape, 477
his family afterward captured at Bridgeman's fort, 478
Gulf of Maine mentioned, 228
Gulf of St. Lawrence, 119
Gyles, Captain, sends warning to Harmon that Indians and their captives were at Pleasant Point, 196, note
sends party to verify Cochran's story, 254

Habitants, 419, 425
Hadley, mentioned, 50
settlers join pursuit of De Rouville, 58, note
settler killed on Hadley trail, 76
post going to, shot by the Indians, 134
Hager, a servant of Rev. Benjamin Rolfe, saved his two youngest children in Haverhill massacre, 113, 114
Haile, Captain, pursues the slayers of Cole and his party, 70
Half-breeds, 425
Halifax, founded by English near Chibucto Harbor on the coast of Nova Scotia, 421
first original English settlement east of Pentagoët, 422
fort built, 449
site selected by Governor Shirley, 451, *vide* note
located, 451, note, 452, note, 453, note
in the direct path of Penobscots to Norridgewock and the Chaudiere to Quebec, 452, note

Halifax, New Hampshire sends a regiment to, under Meserve, 496
Halifax Fort, road for wheel-carriages between, and Fort Western, 455
described by Lithgow, 455
Indians attack workmen from, 455
one is killed, and four are captured, 455
men despatched to, with supplies, 456
need of, 456
rumored plans of French against, 456
garrisoned with men and stores, 464
a man captured between, and Fort Western, 469
an object of irritation to the Canibas, 478
two men from, attacked by, while fishing on the river, 478
escapes attack through 1756, 487
Hall, Ebenezer, his house on Matinicus Island attacked, 494
maintains the defence for ten days, 494
is wounded and overcome, and killed, 494
his wife and children separated and taken to Canada by different routes, 494
the wife, ransomed by Capt. Andrew Watkins and taken to England, reaches Falmouth by way of New York, 494
the children were never heard of after, 495
Hall, Edward, of Hilton's garrison, captured in the hay-field, eludes his captors, 96, *vide* note
Rev. Mr. Pike has "Joseph" for "Edward," 96, note
Ham, Joseph, killed at Dover by the savages, 199
three children taken to Canada, 199
wife and rest of family get to the garrison, 199
Hamilton, a Brunswick settler, captured and sent to Canada, 192
Hamilton, David, *vide Addendum*, 10
Hampshire County, losses among settlers of, in Queen Anne's War, 150, note
Hampton, patrol from Rendezvous Point to, 86, *vide* note
mentioned, 202, note
Hampton Palace, 10
Hampton village, attacked, 44
five settlers killed, 44, *vide* note
Handson captured by Indians at Brunswick and sent to Canada, 192
Hanson, John, a Quaker of Dover, 222
his house raided by a party of French Mohawks, 222
butchery discovered by eldest daughter on return from weekly meeting, 223

Hanson, John, leaves his house for safer quarters, 224
goes to Canada and redeems his wife, 224, note
also children and nurse, 224, note
could not obtain the eldest girl, 224, note
who marries a Frenchman, 224, note
Hanson, wife of John, captured and taken to Canada, 223
with some of her children, 223
kindness of Indian squaws to, 223, note
Hansons, The, of Dover, captured a second time, 277, 278
Harcourt, D', at Court of Spain, 9
accomplishes his errand, 9
Hardiclay, John, a lumberman, shot by Indians at Number-Four, 477, *vide* note
Harding, Mrs., 36, note
Harding, Stephen, keeps an "ordinary" at Wells, 30
his house garrisoned, 30
Indians had a summer settlement near by, 30
something of a hunter, 31
his services in demand as a guide, 31
Indians plot for his capture, 31
his physical and fearless characteristics, 31
a ruse enables him to escape with his family, 32
reaches Storer's garrison safely, 32
his house raided by the savages, 32
hunter of Wells mentioned, 259
Harding, Stephen, of Kennebunk, his garrison located, 245, note
accompanies Samuel Wheelright upon an expedition to Lovel's Pond, 246, note
"Harding's" (old Harding Tavern), 36, note
Tabitha Littlefield at, 36, note
Harding's garrison, Captain Felt killed by savages at gates of, 222
Harmon, a man by that name in the battle of the shallops at Winter Harbor, 106
Harmon, Captain, his daughter Sarah married Richard Jacques, 194, note
led the English, with Moulton, against Norridgewock, 194, note
moved to Harpswell, and died there, 195, note
and Colonel Walton relieve fort at Arrowsic, 206
his expedition into the Ammeriscoggin country, 207
finds settlement of that tribe, 209
after putting torch to the same, he returns to Richmond, 209
his expedition with Moulton against Norridgewock, 232

Harmon, Captain, plan of attack on, 233
the destruction of Norridgewock accomplished, 234–238
Harmon, Colonel, with Major Moody, surprises a party of savages at Somerset Point, 195
finds body of a white man, which the English bury, 195
afterward discovered to be that of Moses Eaton, 196, note
gets away without loss, 196
mentioned, 204, *vide* note
Harpswell, Harmon and Jacques move to, 195, note
both die there, 195, note
three men going from, to Brunswick, ambushed by the savages; one captured, 483, 484
Harpswell company at siege of Louisburg under command of Lieut. Richard Jacques, 236, note
Harris, the plot against William III. foiled, 10
Harris, Captain, cuts out an English sloop at Richmond Island, 85
Harvey, a Gorhamtown settler who aided Phinney in his escape from the savages, 399
Harvey, Capt. Daniel, only man in Libby's garrison (Scarborough), when Dresser was killed at the gate of, 389
Harvey, Sergeant, killed in fight at Green Islands, 221
Harwood, John, an ensign in Lovewell's expedition, 260, 275, note
Hassell, the coward who ran away from the Lovewell Pond fight, returns to Dunstable, 267, 273
called upon to guide Tyng's relief-party to Lovewell's Pond, but is suddenly taken ill, 273
Hastings, Benjamin, escapes savages at Green River, 489, note
Hastings, Doctor Thomas, 283, note
Hatfield, settlers join in pursuit of De Rouville, 58, note, 60
Have, La, mentioned, 82
Haverhill, Bradley's garrison at, captured, 64
savages loiter in woods of, 76
the object of French attack, 112
the hamlet described, 112
strength of garrison at, 113
taken by surprise, 113
brave fight of Major Turner, Captains Price and Gardner, 113
the story of the massacre, 113, 114, *vide* note
Hertel of Chambly killed at, 116, note
also Verchères, 116, and note
Ponchartrain's comments on the expedition against Haverhill, 117, 118, *vide* note

Haverhill, mentioned, 118, 121
Hawkes, Ebenezer, killed by the Indians at Stebbins's meadow, 376
Hawkes, Sergeant John, in command of Fort Massachusetts, 372
the defence of, 373, 374
surrender to Vaudreuil, 374
protected by the French commander from the Indians, 375
his men are massacred, 375
Hayes, James, captured at Amesbury, 121
Hayward, Ebenezer, killed at Brookfield in a hay-field, 134, note
Heard, Captain, mentioned, 151
Heard, Joseph, killed in the Rochester raid by the savages, 368
Heard, Tristram, killed on Dover trail, 199
Heard's garrison, attacked by the Indians, 149
cut off heads of two children, 149
garrison saved by Esther Jones, 149
Heath, Captain, destroys Indian settlement of Falls of Penobscot, 250, 251
at Fort Shirley, 299
Heath, Joseph, a settler on the Kennebec, 176, note
makes a map of Norridgewock, 176, note
his description of, 175, 176, note
Hebron (Grafton County), 496, note
Henchman, Daniel, 307, note
Henderson, Dunbar, garrison of, located, 464, note
Henry II., 8
Henry, The Bearnais, 8
Hertel, 15, note
Hill, Captain, 36, note
Hill, Ebenezer, and his wife captured at Saco Falls, 33
brother to Samuel Hill, who was captured the same day at Wells, 33
both families taken to Canada, 33
Hill, Fort, Edward Cloutman (Cloudman) lived near, 484
vide Fort Hill
Hill, Joseph, and twenty others bury body of Jepsum, 205
Hill, Samuel, and his wife captured, 33
gives number of captives in his company, 36, note
who had been captured at Wells by the Indians sent to Boston to effect exchange of prisoners, 77, *vide* note
his controversy with Massachusetts Colony, 78
complaint of, mentioned, 79
goes to Montreal with Vetch and Courtemanche, 81

Hilton, Colonel, starts for the Kennebec, 81
reaches Norridgewock, settlement deserted, 81, 176
to which he puts the torch, 81, 176
after the attack on Dunstable pursues the marauders, 95
a marked man among the savages, 95
who lurk about his house to ambush him, 95
his men surprised in a hay-field by a band of French Mohawks, 95, 96
his winter expedition to the eastward, 97
at Black Point on his return, 97, *vide* note, 98, note
strikes the trail of the savages, 98
kills four savages, captures a squaw and papoose, 98
with help of squaw, surprises a party of eighteen savages, 98
some consideration of the chroniclers of this expedition, 98, note, 99, note
at Port Royal, 101, note
his expedition to "Amassaconty," 122
takes out a scouting-party, 124
ambushed and killed, 131
his body mutilated, 132
who he was, and his children enumerated, 132, note
buried with honors of war, 133
mentioned, 147
Hilton, Dudley, a brother of Colonel Hilton, ambushed, 133, note
Hilton, Edward, father of Colonel Hilton, 132, note
Hilton, Major, accompanies Colonel Church on his last eastern expedition, 64
Hilton, Major Winthrop, leads expedition into the Indian country, 48
is unsuccessful, 48
Hilton's, Colonel, expedition into the Abenake country, 23, note
burns an Indian village and a Jesuit chapel, 23, note
Hinckley, William, a son of, killed at Hampton, 44, note
Hinkley, three settlers of that name captured by the savages at New Meadows, 445, note
Hinkley, Isaac, killing of, at New Meadows, mentioned, 414, note
Hinkley, Seth, of New Meadows, killed by savages, 402, note
Hinsdale, Abigail, wife of Colonel Hinsdale, 477, note
Hinsdale (Fort Dummer), 360
Shattuck's fort located at, 379
Bridgeman's fort at, burned and inmates killed and captured, 387
three men belonging to fort at, killed by savages, 405

Hinsdale, two men killed and nine others captured between, and Fort Dummer, 406
savages at, 477
kill two lumbermen, 477, and note
capture another, 477
hover about the neighborhood for some days, 477
ambush three men, 477
Hinsdale Mill, settlers go to, to get their corn ground, 367
Hinsdell, Mehuman, first white man born in Deerfield, 123, note
captured by Indians, 123
Hispaniola, some of the exiled Acadians go to, 467, note
Hobbs, Captain, surprised by the savages at West River, 406
Captain Moor of, killed, also his son, 500
remainder of the family taken to Canada, 500
Hodgedon, a Gorhamtown settler, aids Edmund Phinney in his escape from the Indians, 399
Hodgedon, Jonathan, of Rochester, wife of, killed by the savages as she was going to her Sunday morning milking, 404
Hodson, Nicholas, a soldier of Wheelright's garrison, 69
goes with Cole to find his cows, 69
is killed by savages in ambush, 70
Hoel, Mrs., killed by the savages at Spruce Creek, 85
Hominy the settlers' food, 391
Hook, Sergeant, at attack on Casco Fort, rescues Major March, 40
Hoosac, infested by the savages, 489, note
kill Sergeant Chidchester and his son, 489, note
capture Capt. Elisha Chapin, 489, note
Hoosac, East, Indians raid, 369
Fort Massachusetts at, 369
Hoosac River, Vaudreuil at, 370
Horse Tavern, old, located, 357
mentioned by Parson Smith, 357
Houses at Norridgewock, 175
How, Caleb, a son of Nehemiah, 362
ambushed by the savages at Number-Four, 477
family of, captured at Bridgeman's fort, 478
his wife known as "the fair captive," 478
How, Captain, at Lancaster, 75
his skirmish with the Indians, 75
How, Nehemiah, captured at Great Meadows, 361
compelled to write his name on a bit of birch-bark which the savages leave at Number-Four, 362

How, Nehemiah, his son Caleb escapes, 362
taken to Quebec from Crown Point, died in prison, 362
Howe, shot at New Meadows (Putney), 343, note
Hoyt, David, wounded in the Deerfield massacre, 57, note
also his wife, 57, note
Hudson Bay, controlled by English, 169
a cause of war with French, 169
Hunniwell, "Dick" (the Indian-killer), 160
hatred of the Indian, 160
kills two savages at the clam-house at Seavey Landing, 160, 161, also note to 160
ambushed by a savage while mowing, 161
the Indians torture his horse, 161
massacre of his party and himself at Great Pond, 162, 163, also 162, note, and 163, note
Christian name Richard, 163, note
the Hunniwell house on Winnock's Neck, 163, note
mentioned, 204
his exploit of cutting off the head of the Indian in Scarborough marshes mentioned, 346
also his death, 346
death at Massacre Pond mentioned, 45, note
Hunniwell, Richard, mentioned, 442
Huntoon, Philip, of Kingston, captured, 131, note
Huntoon, Samuel, of Kingston, ambushed and killed, 131, note
Hunuel, Stephen, savages burn a shallop of, at Damaris Cove, 281
taken prisoner, 281
Hutchins, David, killed by the savages at Kittery, 121
Hutchins, Enoch, wife and children captured at Spruce Creek, 85
Hutchinson quoted as to burning of Norridgewock, 237, note
Hutchinson, afterward Governor of Massachusetts, attended Peace Conference at Falmouth, 409, note

Iberville, D', his opinion as to a campaign against Boston, 12
at Fort William Henry, 15, note
Illinois Indians, Ralé among, 174
Illinois streams, French established on, 423
Ilsley, Captain, accompanies Captain Milk on a scouting-party, 481
Indian Island, at Saco Falls, Sokoki had their aboriginal village at, 258
Indian Old Point (Norridgewock) destroyed by Hilton, 176
Indians, begin their depredations, at Deerfield, 7

INDEX

Indians, collision of, at Royal's River, with English, 14, note
unstable and vengeful; warfare their normal condition, 17
attend Dudley's council at Casco, 18
their treacherous intentions, 18
Simmo, their orator, 19, *vide* note
his protestations of amity, 19, note
heap "Two Brothers" with stones, as a memorial of peace, 20
conclude treaty with musket volleys, 21, note
their treachery apparent, 21
were expecting French and Indians from Canada, 21
non-arrival of, foiled the conspirators, 21, note
French and Indians, shortly after, infest country from Casco Bay to Wells, 22
and Pejepscot, 22, 23, note
raid on Purchas's cabin, 25
and French at Casco Bay, 29
their number, 29
the raid upon Wells; the killed and captured, 30
attack home of Thomas Wells, 30
also that of Joseph Sayer, 30
plan the capture of Stephen Harding, 30
summer settlement near Stephen Harding's, 32
fooled by Harding's ruse, 32
attack cabin of William Larrabee, 33
capture Samuel Hill and wife, 33
also Ebenezer Hill, at Saco Falls, 33
raid a house in Berwick, 33
kill Thomas Wilson, 33
capture Adams and his wife at Berwick, 33
surprise cabin of William Parsons, 33, note, 34, note
had a strategic purpose in avoiding Casco settlement, 34
short of food, 34, note
offer to barter a captive for a dog, to the Mohawks, 34, note
capture Moses Littlefield, 34, note
also Mary Storer, 35
and Tabitha Littlefield, 35, note
capture Esther Wheelright, 36, note
number of English captured by, in raid of August 10, 1703, on Wells, 36, note
attack on Wells by, carefully planned, 37
raid Saco Falls, 37
scour the lands about Spurwink, 37

INDEX

Indians, destroy the Cape Porpoise settlement, 38
make an attack on the Scarborough settlers, 38
compel the surrender of the garrison at Winter Harbor, 38
appear at Purpooduck, 38
where they kill and capture thirty-three settlers, 38
an instance of their barbarity, 38, note
under Beaubassin, attack Casco Fort, 41
interrupted by appearance of Captain Southack, 41
number of Beaubassin's force, 42
next appear at Cammock's Neck, 42
invest Larrabee's garrison, 42
but are unsuccessful, 43
under Captain Tom, a party of, attack Hampton Village, 44
captured two settlers at Deerfield, 46
attack the garrison at Scarborough, 46
out of which Lieutenant Wyatt gets his men safely, 46
their next appearance is at York, 46
kill five settlers at Berwick, 47
attack a store-ship at Casco, 47
kill the captain and three sailors, 47
Tyng's expedition against partially successful, 48
winter season unfavorable for forays by, 48
discovery and pursuit dreaded by them, 49
hover about Nicholas Cole's mill, 49
take his beaver-traps but fail to capture Cole, 49
appearance at Deerfield mentioned, 50
tradition of the church bell, 54, 55
De Rouville's expedition at, 54
their number, 54, 60
manner of advance on the Deerfield settlement, 55
their work of butchery and destruction at, 56, 57
attacked by Wells and his party, 58, note
instance of their barbarity, 60, note, 61, note
by converted savages, 62, note
not deterred in their depredations by aggressive tactics of the English, 63
burn houses at Berwick, 63
where they attack the garrison of Andrew Neal, 63
and are repulsed by Captain Brown, 63
put Joseph Ring to the torture, 63
attack the Bradley garrison at Haverhill, 63
which they capture, with its inmates, 63

INDEX

Indians, sell Mrs. Bradley to the French for eighty livres, 64
kill Nathaniel Meader at Oyster River, 64
also Edward Taylor at Lamphrey River, 64
capture the latter's wife and son, 64
ambush the Dover settlers on their return from church, 64
build a fort at Coos intervales, 65, 66, note
invade Scarborough and Wells, 65
kill two men and capture one in Wells, 67
adepts in art of skulking, 67
seen at Drake's Island, and pursued by the English, 68
escape by a ruse, 69
surprise and capture the fort at Pascommuck, 71, 72, also note
in their retreat attack a farmhouse, 72
dogs alarm the settlers, 72
at Lancaster, 75, *vide* note
met by Captains Tyng and How, 75
set the meeting-house on fire, 76
also killed some of the cattle and burned some outhouses, 76, *vide* note
engaged at Westfield by Captain Allen, 76
kill a man on the Hadley trail, and wound another, 76, *vide* note
driven by the English toward Groton and Nashua, 76
where they kill Lieutenant Wyler and other English, 76, *vide* note
loiter among the woods of Amesbury, Haverhill, and Exeter, 76
Norridgewock settlement deserted by, 81
join Subercase in attack on St. John, 83
butcher the settlers at that place, 83
raid Spruce Creek (Kittery), 84
at Cape Neddock, 85
French policy to attract, to settle at Montreal, 86
many of, had been incorporated into the St. Francis tribe, 86
at Oyster River, 87
appear at Kittery, 88
their cruelty to the Shapleigh boy, 88
appear at Dunstable, 89
surprise the garrison at that place, 90
go from Dunstable to Amesbury, 92
raid Kingston, 93
attack a house in Reading, 94
surprise a woman and eight children, 94
butcher the woman and three youngest children, 94

INDEX

Indians, pursued by the settlers and compelled to abandon both children and plunder, 94
go to the westward, 94
to Chelmsford, Sudbury, and Groton, 95
band of French Mohawks surprise men of Major Hilton in hay-field, 95
scour the country in roving parties, 96
estimated cost of killing, to the colony, 97
capture two settlers at Oyster River, 103
waylay a man at Groton, 103
annihilate the Carpenter family at Kittery, 103
kill two men between Dover and Oyster River, 103
ambush two men between Exeter and Kingston, 103
raid Wells, 104
kill one man at Marlborough, 104
another at Exeter, 105, *vide* note
butcher another at Kingston, 105, *vide* note
their assaults of an isolate character, 105
apparently by the New Hampshire tribes, 105
French Mohawks at Oyster River, 105, note
probably the Pequawkets and some of the Pennacooks, with the Norridgewocks, made up the marauding-parties, 106
appear at Winter Harbor in one hundred fifty canoes, 106
attack some English shallops, 106
are driven off, 107
ambush two men in Berwick, 107
surprised by the English and put to flight, 107
a period of inactivity among, 108
small squads of, wandered about the country, 108
engage with the French in the Haverhill massacre, 112–116
retreat of, with loss, 115, 116
hovered about the settlements west of the Piscataqua, 117
under domination of the French, 117
turned over to the tutelage of the Jesuits by the French, 117
no justification for their atrocities, 117
lurk among the woods of Amesbury, Brookfield, and Kittery, 121
frontier apparently deserted, 122
appear in neighborhood of Deerfield, 123
raid Pickpocket Mill (Exeter), 123
engage Captain Wright's scouting-party, 126
roast and eat William Moody, 126
at Deerfield, 126

INDEX

Indians, at Brookfield, 126
capture two men at Wells, 126
kill a man at York, 131
ambush Colonel Hilton and his men, 131
ambush settlers in Kingston, 131, note
in the roads about Exeter, 133
capture four children, 133
raid Waterbury, 134
kill a settler at Simsbury, 134
in Brookfield, attack a party of hay-makers, 134, note
shoot the post going to Hadley, 134
surprise and mortally wound Major Tyng at Chelmsford, 134
party of French and, at Winter Harbor, 134, 135
inactive through winter of 1710, 135, 136, 137
ambush a settler at Cocheco, 135
camp of, surprised and captured by Colonel Walton, 135, 136
of New Hampshire migrate to Canada, 136
weakened by loss of fighting-men, 136
numbers diminished by sickness, 136
from Penobscot westward, their number computed, 136, note
urged by their priests to go on the war-path, 137
labors of Ralé, Thury, and L'Auvergat among, 137
Bigot might not have been among, at this time, 137
last excursion of, with the French not one of marked success, 137
not allowed to forget English heretics, 139
remembered teachings of Jesuits too well, 140
stop at Winter Harbor on their way to New Hampshire, 140
where they capture Corporal Ayers, 140
go on to Cocheco, 140
where they kill three men in a field, 140, 141
ambush the settlers going from church, 141
infest York, where they kill one and disable another, 141
in Wells they kill two men planting corn, 141
capture Wheelright's negro servant, 141, note, 142, note, 143, note
wigwams of those discovered by Colonel Walton; how regarded by Penhallow, 144
scalp a woman near the Wells garrison, 144
raid Simpson's house at Wells, 144
after expedition of colonies against Quebec, begin their ravages, 147
appear at Exeter, 147

INDEX

Indians, appear at Dover and Oyster River, 147
destroy a sawmill, 148
ambush a settler between York and Cape Neddock, 148
attack settlers in Wells, 148, *vide* note
at Spruce Creek, Kittery, 148
surprise the settlers at Cape Neddock, 148
butcher the Pickerings at Kittery, 148, 149
raid Amesbury, 149
kill a settler at Newichawannock, 149
and capture Wheelright's negro, Sambo, 149
ambush the settlers at Dover on church-day, 149
attack the Heard garrison, 149, *vide* note
put to flight by a girl, Esther Jones, 149
scattered over the New Hampshire frontier, 149
ravages of, prevented by Captain Davis, 150
raid upon Springfield, 150, note
kidnap Elisha Plaisted at John Wheelright's garrison, 150, 152
decline overtures of Lieutenant Banks for release of Plaisted, 152
promise to be at Richmond Island with captives, 152
powows of, at Scarborough, 157
their hilarities interrupted by Charles Pine, 157, 158, 159
ambush Hunniwell, 161
their fear of, 161
torture his horse, 161
finally kill him, in the massacre at Great Pond (Scarborough), 162, *vide* note, 163, note
weapons and copper plates dug up at Scarborough, 163, note
resented the building of forts by the English along the Maine rivers, 181
forbidden intercourse with the settler except at the truck-house, 181
instigated by Ralé, a menace to the settler, 182
attend the conference at Georgetown, 182
object to building of English forts, 183
informed by the governor the English would build forts wherever thought necessary, 183
leave the conference, 183
Ralé the ruling spirit among, 183, 184, note
conference renewed by, the following morning, 183
request return of flag refused by, preceding day, 184
new spokesman, 184
promises of English to, 184

Indians, compact of, with English declared void by Ralé, 184
begin their ravages on the English settlers, 184
English demand reparation of, 184
promise two hundred beaver-skins, 185
leave four Norridgewocks as hostages, 185
Ralé's alarm over apparent defection of, from the French, 185
Abenake sent from Becancour, St. Francis, Lorette, Caughnawaga to Nanrantsouak, 185
array of, at Georgetown, 186
accompanied by St. Castin, Croisil, Ralé, and La Chasse, 186
leave a letter of Ralé's for Shute, 186
demand that the English remove from their lands, 186, note
summoned to another conference at Georgetown, 187
deride the invitation, 187
Westbrook expedition against, 187
incensed at attempt to take Ralé and the destruction of Norridgewock, 191
waiting for ice to go out of river, to commence ravages, 191
raid Brunswick, and entire settlement captured, 192
a portion sent to Canada, 192
and detained as hostages, 192, note
the remainder were set at liberty, 192
attack a sloop at St. Georges, 192
attack this garrison later, 192
led by Lauverjait, 192
overrun the frontier, 199
appear at Dover, 199
carry off the Ham children, 199
swoop down on Lamphrey River, 199
where they attack the Rawlins house, 199, *vide* note
in these attacks they came by way of Lake Winnipiseogee, 200
thirty miles from Cocheco Falls, 200
a cross-country trail, 200
by which they were able to approach the English without warning, 200
appear in Wells, 202
kill two men at Brunswick, 202
burn a sawmill on Little River, 202
ambush Daniel Low, 202
also two men on the trail from Wells to York, 202
shoot Benjamin Major at Arundel, 202
destroy Storer's sawmill on Kennebunk River, 203

Indians, in Berwick and Saco, 203, and note
Samuel Chubb killed by, at Black Point, 204
hatred for Captain Harmon, 204
mistake Samuel Chubb for, at Black Point, 204, *vide* note
attack garrison-house of Roger Dearing, 204, 205
surprise John Hunniwell of Black Point, 204
also garrison of Job Burnham, 204
kill a Mr. Mitchell in Scarborough, 204
at Mousam River, 205
continue their raids through the winter, 205
raid Arrowsic, 206
retire up river toward Richmond, 206
where they kill a Mr. Stratton, 207
kill a man at Berwick, 207
country of, invaded by Colonel Westbrook, 207
also by Captain Harmon, 207
Passadumkeag fort destroyed by Westbrook, 207, 208
at Nicolai's Island, 207
settlements of, at Passadumkeag, Mattawamkeag, and Penobscot Falls, 207
fell back on former place at Westbrook's approach, 208
of Sokoki country invaded by Captain Sayward, 209
too elusive to be caught by English, 209
directing offensive operations against Canso, 209
capture English vessels, 209
engagement of, with Captain Elliot and Captain Robinson, 209
vessels recaptured from, 209
captured and killed, 209
kill Captain Watkins and John Drew at Canso, 210
last savageries of, at, 210
appear in Northfield under Gray Lock, 210
invest garrison of St. Georges, 214
routed by Colonel Westbrook, 215
attack party at Northfield Meadows, 214, note
1724 to be a fateful year for, 215
appear in Arundel, 216
ambush Captain Felt and his men at Gooch Creek Mill, 216, 217
posse of settlers pursue, 217
at Oyster River, 218
James Nock first victim of, 218
raid Kingston, where they capture four whites, 218

Indians, ambush Oyster River trail, 219
capture two men in Chester, 219
start for Canada, but lose their captives by escape, 219
appear again about Oyster River, 219
attacked and driven off by Abraham Benwick, 219
one of, killed by Benwick's party, supposed to have been a natural son of Ralé by an Indian woman, 220
kill Sergeant Smith at Vaughn's Island, 221
also William Mitchell, at Scarborough, 221
capture his two boys, 221
encounter English under Winslow, near St. Georges, 221
infest vicinity of Dover; capture Ebenezer Downs, 222
French Mohawks attack house of John Hanson, 222
carry his family away captive, 223
come upon Groton, 224, *vide* note
in Connecticut Valley; pursued by Captain Wells, 224
ambush their pursuers, 225
but are put to flight by the English, 225
at Northfield, 225, note
plunder houses of the settlers at the Bars, 225, note
attack settlers at North Meadows, 225, note
lay in wait at Spurwink garrison, 226
where they kill Solomon Jordan, 226
but are attacked and put to flight by Lieutenant Bean, 226
scalps of, sold to government for one hundred pounds, 226
depredations of, considered, 226
losses equal to those inflicted by them on settlers, 226
entertain idea of preying on the fishermen, 227
their captures on the water, 227
find a fishing-fleet at Fox Islands, 227
of which they capture eight, 227
compel the captured English to navigate their prizes, 227
capture fourteen vessels, after which the English are driven from the eastern waters, 227
sail up to St. Georges Fort, 227
demand a surrender of the garrison, 227
refused, go to Annapolis, 227, 228
where they are routed, 228
scour the eastern coast-line, 228
chased by the English into Penobscot Bay, 228
compel the English to pull out of the fight, 228
attack on, of Norridgewock determined by the English, 228

Indians, compel English settlers to keep in garrison, 229
Bourne's comment on ingenuity and powers of discernment, 229
cites the escape of Richard Kimball in Kennebunk, 229, 230, also note on 230
expert reader of woodland signs, 230
his acuteness of hearing, 230
effort to capture Samuel Littlefield foiled, 230, note
their cowardice, 230, note
three put to flight by a Kennebunk woman, 231, note
after sack of Norridgewock ravages of, continue, 239
appear at Dunstable, 240
capture two men, 240, *vide* note
attacked by party of pursuers, of whom they kill all but two, 240, *vide* note, also 241, note continued
ambush a second party of English, 241
kill two men at Kingston in a corn-field, 241
cross over into Northampton, 241
where they kill a man, 241
ambush settlers of Westfield, 241, 242
entirely under influence of French, 248, note
haughty toward English, 248, note
demand rebuilding of their church at Norridgewock, 248, note
and a restoration of their lands, 248, note
deny selling land to the English, 249, note
supported by the French, 249, note
the war of, on the English was to go on, 250
sounded by the English as to their disposition for peace, 250
Tarratines favor peace, 250
send news of inclination to Fort Georges, 250
peace negotiations broken off by Heath's destruction of an Indian settlement at the Falls of the Penobscot, 250, 251
breach widened between English and, 251
Captain Pritchard's capture of St. Castin's vessel, 251, *vide* note
capture a soldier at Maquoit Bay, 252
kill two men at North Yarmouth, 255
ambush Lieutenant Trescott's party at Cape Porpoise, 255
raid a cabin at Canso, 255
kill Captain Durell in a raid against garrison on Durell's Island, 255
suffer loss at, 256
continue depredations along frontiers, 256
sell their captives to the French, 256

Indians, aboriginal settlement on Saco River, at Indian Island at Saco Falls, 258
fall back on wilderness as English increase, 258
three skeletons dug up on site of Lovewell's fort at Ossipee Lake, 262, note
the lone Indian at Lovewell's Pond, 262
is killed after wounding Lovewell, 265
under Wahwa and Paugus, take Lovewell's trail, 265
capture the packs of Lovewell's party, 266
attack the English, 266, 267
story of the battle of Lovewell's Pond, 267–271, and notes
demand surrender of the English, 270, and note
Paugus killed, 270, and note
retire from the fight, 271
power of the Pequawket tribe broken, 274
conference of eastern, with English commissioners at Arrowsic, 276
nothing determined, 276, note
two sachems go to Boston, 276
where they are entertained, 277
and sent home by ship, 277
"forty days" agreement to them meant nothing, 277
appear at Dover to make a second capture of the Hansons, 277, 278
ambush the Evans brothers and capture young Evans, 279
their last foray in New Hampshire, 279
hold a treaty conference in Boston, 279, and note
which they ratify later at Falmouth, 279
attack garrison at North Yarmouth, 280
but are repulsed and driven off, 280
their depredations confined to the killing of cattle, 281
at Mousam River, 281
burn two shallops at Damaris Cove, 281
butcher five men and a boy at Winneganse, 281
enter into a peace compact with English at Falmouth, 284, 285
tribes entering into peace compact mentioned, 284
desire English to prohibit the selling of liquor to, 284, note
cherish a lively hatred of English for the killing of Ralé, 285
instigated by French Jesuits, attack settlers at Arundel, 285, 286
last act of hostility in Lovewell's War, 286
begin to frequent their old haunts, 289
build their wigwams by the roadsides, 289

Indians, always in proximity to the English, 289
their favorite resorts mentioned, 289
intimate acquaintance with domestic life of the settlers, 289
Bourne says they invariably gave notice of an outbreak, 289
by throwing down the heap of stones that in time of peace stood beside the entrance to their wigwams, 290
forays of sporadic character, 290
their wigwams went up in the night, 290
a Berwick Indian, Ambereuse, mentioned, 290
primarily for peace, 290
the great sachems of, recalled, 290
resentments of, abiding, 290
susceptible to evil influences, 290
their equitable rights ignored by Pilgrim and Puritan, 291
they were to be ground between the upper and nether stones of Jesuitism and Puritanism, 291
retire inland, to utterly disappear, 292
after twenty years of peace, to scourge New England frontier, 295
war declared against, by Massachusetts, 295
New England frontier easily reached by, 300
routes of approach used by, 300, *vide* note
their settlements on the Saco and Androscoggin, 300
augmented by Jesuit converts from Canada, 300
also by the more eastern tribes, 300
ravages of, in Governor Shirley's War, likely to be confined to isolated garrisons and settlements, 302
decimated in numbers and lacking in leadership, 302
attitude of English toward, 302
efforts of English toward conciliation, 302
settlers prohibited from trading with, 302
under control of French Jesuits, 303
no treaty could hold, 303
leagued at Canso with the assailants of the English, 303
precautions urged by Shirley against arousing, 303
English offer rewards for scalps of man, woman, or child of, 303
always ready for war, had begun their depredations, 309
along coast-line of Acadia, 310
effort of English with, to maintain conditions of treaty, 311, *vide* also note
Pepperrell, Colonel, demands of, a quota to join English against the St. Johns, 311, note
eastern tribes go over to the French, 311

INDEX

Indians, in summer of 1745 show themselves in small parties, 312
war declared by colony against, 312
awaiting active encouragemcnt of the French, 313
ambush the English at Petit Lorembec, 331
of Cape Sable infected by French seamen from D'Estournelle's shipwrecked fleet, 342
two thirds of that tribe swept out of existence by, 342
begin their ravages along New England frontier, 342
appear at Damariscotta (Newcastle) and St. Georges, 342
at latter place wound a woman, 342
burn garrison-house, sawmill, and cabins at Damariscotta, 342
kill a man and scalp a boy in Topsham, 342
capture a settler by the name of Howe at Great Meadows, Putney, 343, note
kill a man and a horse at Red Meadows, 343, note
make their way into North Yarmouth, 343
kill Joseph Sweat, of Falmouth, 343
also Philip Greeley, of North Yarmouth, 344, also note
awaiting opportunity to attack the Weir garrison, are scattered along the Maine border to New Hampshire, 344
shot two men at Georgetown; also captured two men who were after rock-weed, 345
also a Mrs. Thompson who was milking by the garrison gate, 345
surprise a young man by name of Saunders, 345
engage in a skirmish with Lieutenant Proctor near the St. Georges garrison, 346
Colonels Sam, Job, and Morris either killed or captured, 346, *vide* note
their method of fighting adopted by the white man, 346, 347
go from St. Georges to Sheepscot, 347
kill two men harvesting corn, and wound another, 347, *vide* note
seen at Cathance, 347, note
at Gorhamtown, haunt the cabin of Hugh McLellan, 351
and the next day capture a settler by the name of Read, 352
massacre the Bryant family, and kill Bryant, 352
capture Edward Cloutman, 353
take Read and Cloutman to Canada, 353
last foray of, for the year, on Gorhamtown, 354
at Fort St. Georges, 354, and note
warned off by Captain Bradbury, 354, note
attacked by Lieutenant Proctor, who kills one sachem and captures one, 355, note

INDEX

Indians, Captain Burton kills another, 355, note
attack and destroy Broadbay (Waldoborough), 355, and note
ambush five settlers at Sheepscot, 355, *vide* note on 356
one of the wounded settlers kills his assailant, 355, 356
raid Wiscasset, where they capture Capt. Jonathan Williamson, 356
harry North Yarmouth, 356
are scattered along the edge of Falmouth, 356
engage in a skirmish at Fort St. Georges, 356
shoot two soldiers in Westcott's field (Long Creek, Stroudwater), 356
seven drive a party of twenty-five soldiers, 356, *vide* 357, note
objective of, Frost's garrison, 357
skulk about the Falmouth woods, 357
the incident of the Causeway, 357
mentioned by Parson Smith in his *Journal*, 358
attack Merriconeag, 358
waylay Allan Dover on the Scarborough marshes, 358
latter kills one of his assailants, 358
kill John McFarland and his son at Pemaquid, 358, 359
butcher his cattle and destroy his crops, after burning his house, 358
ambush two men on their way to Cole's mill at Saco, 359
kill one (Joseph Gordon) and capture the other (Pike Gordon), who is taken to Canada, 359
by hiding in a swamp, evade the posse of settlers sent for them, 359
harass the New Hampshire settlers, 359
appear at Great Meadows, 360
capture William Phips, 360
who kills his captor with his hoe, 361
and shoots another Indian, but is finally killed by others of the raiders, 361
kill Josiah Fisher of Upper Ashuelot, 361
capture Nehemiah How at Great Meadows, 361
one Indian killed by a shot from the aroused fort, 361
ambush two men in a canoe near, 361
kill one; the other escapes, 361
compel How to write his name on a bit of birch-bark, which they left, 362
keep on to Crown Point, 362
raid Number-Four in the spring of 1746, 362

Indians, capture three men who were teaming; butcher their cattle, and take their captives to Canada, 362
plan to surprise Upper Ashuelot foiled, 363
kill a man and a woman at, 363
capture one settler; burn houses and barns, 363
raid a New Hampshire garrison, eight settlers captured, 364
small parties of, beset the frontier, 364
again at Number-Four, where they kill Seth Putnam, 364
invade Contoocook (Boscawen), where they come upon five settlers and a negro, 365
the latter and a settler, Elisha Cook, were killed, 365
capture Thomas Jones and take him to Canada, 365
raid Lower Ashuelot; capture two settlers, 365
knock at the fort gate of Upper Ashuelot, 365
one Indian is killed by a random shot from the garrison, 365
their persistent efforts to harass the settler compel attention of Provincial authorities, 365
ambush Captain Paine and twenty of the men at the place where Putnam was killed, 365, 366
who are relieved by Captain Stevens and a party of soldiers, 366
engage in a brisk fight with, 366, *vide* note
raiders repulsed, with a loss of their guns and blankets, 366
another fight at the same place the following month, 366
ambush Captains Brown and Stevens, who are in search of their horses, 366
driven by the two white men into a swamp, 366
plunder taken from, sold for forty pounds, 366
kill two men at Bridgeman's fort, 367
capture Daniel How and John Beaman, 367
party of, routed from their ambush by Colonel Willard's convoy of some settlers on their way to get some corn ground at Hinsdale Mill, 367
leave their packs behind, 367
again at Number-Four, 367
kill a man by the name of Philips near the fort, 367
attack the soldiers from the fort who go to recover the body, 368
burn some of the buildings at, 368
ambush Joseph Rawson in Winchester, 368
raid Rochester; kill four men and capture another, 368
also a boy at another farm, 368
make a second raid upon Rochester, 368, 369
capture two men at Contoocook, 369

Indians, plan to ambush settlers at Pennacook fails, 369
raid East Hoosac, 369
kill five Pennacook settlers and capture two, 369, *vide* note
loss of, in this fight, 370, note
kill Estabrook near Pennacook, 370, note
accompany Vaudreuil on expedition against Fort Frederick, 370
their march traced, 370
their number made up of Abenake and Caughnawagas, 370
reach Hoosac River, 370
where they divide their forces, 370, 371
one division of, under La Valterie, 371
the other is commanded by De Sabrevois, 371
joined by Beaubassin and La Force, 372
advance on Fort Massachusetts, 372
escape control of Vaudreuil, 372
the initial attack on the Hoosac fort, 372
after capture of, mutilate Knowlton's body, 374
massacre the soldiers upon surrender, 375
cut off Williams's return from Deerfield, 375
raid Deerfield, 375
engage in "The Bars Fight," 376
pursued by Lieutenant Clesson, 376
leave two of their dead behind, 376
settlers secrete their property before abandoning their cabins to, 379
attack Shattuck's fort (Hinsdale), but are repulsed, 379
the French and, attack garrison at Number-Four, 381–385
in serious straits for food, 385
small parties of, harass the settlers, 386
one shot by Sergeant Philips, 386
appear in Rochester, 386
but are driven from the vicinity by three boys, 386
burn five abandoned garrisons along New Hampshire frontier, 386
burn houses and barns, and kill cattle, 386
at Pennacook, put to flight by a party of settlers, 387
kill a man who had returned from Cape Breton, 387, *vide* note
kill a man at Suncook, 387
also two men and a woman at Nottingham, 387
burn Bridgeman's fort at Hinsdale, 387
where some settlers are killed and others are taken captive by, 387

INDEX

Indians, capture some settlers at Number-Four, 387
operate across the Piscataqua to the eastward, 388
hover about Scottow's Hill in Scarborough, 388
plan to surprise the David Libby garrison, 388
discovered by Nathaniel Dresser, who is killed by, 388, 389, *vide* note
repulsed here, they go in the direction of Falmouth, 389
capture a young man and his brother near "Sacarappy," 389, note
their camps about Gorhamtown indicate a considerable party, 390, note
their "spitts" for roasting counted, 390, note
attempt a surprise of Larrabee's garrison, 390, 391
foiled by a dog, 390
attempt a night surprise of Larrabee's garrison, *vide* 391, 392, 393
go toward Biddeford, 392
at Biddeford waylay two men, 393, *vide* note
and capture another, 393
some consideration of their methods and warfare, 393, 394
an instance of their cowardice given, 394, also note, 395, and note continued
danger-signal of settlers to warn of approach of, 396
capture Richard Walker's wife at Wells, 396
the woman killed and scalped by, at Taylor's Hill, 397
efforts of, to capture her husband at Great Falls fail, 397
infest the country about Falmouth and Presumpscot River, 397, 398
attack and capture Frost's garrison, 397
kill Frost and capture his wife and six children, 397, *vide* note
their depredations cover the country from Purpooduck to Brunswick, 397, 398
kill two women at New Meadows, 398
party of French and, attack Pemaquid, but are repulsed, 398
but take three captives, 398
raid a house in Damariscotta, 398
maintain a guerilla warfare against the settlers, 398
damage herds and crops, 398
appear at Gorhamtown, 398
where they attack Edmund Phinney near the fort, 399
apparently well acquainted with the locality, 399
cross the upper part of Gorhamtown into New Marblehead, 401

Indians, surprise a man and a boy, 401
the man captured, but the boy escapes, 401, *vide* note
with a bullet in his body for a souvenir, 401
gunshots of, warned the settlers, 401
attempt to surprise Fort Frederic (Pemaquid), 401
ambush five men, all of whom are shot, 401
advance on the fort and begin the fight, 401
continually for war, 403
and thirsty for the blood of the settlers, 403
characterized, 403
appear in North Yarmouth, 404
to begin marauding about Rochester, 404
where they kill the wife of Jonathan Hodgedon, at her milking, 404
ambush party of soldiers at Fort George and Maquoit, 404, note
two men killed, and one captured by, 404, note
kill Eaton at North Yarmouth, 405
burn all the houses at Weir's garrison at latter settlement, 405
trails from the Presumpscot to the Androscoggin infested by savages, 405
capture Captain Burnell at Brunswick, 405
hover about Fort Dummer, 405
same party discovered by Captain Stevens at Crown Point, 405
surprise scouting-party of Captain Melvin, 405
of whom they kill six, 405, *vide* note
kill three men near Hinsdale fort, and capture seven others, 405
party of, surprised by Captain Hobbs, 406
kill two men and capture nine others between Fort Dummer and the fort at Hinsdale, 406
kill Obadiah Sartwell and capture a son of Captain Stevens, who is taken to Canada, 406
sachem comes into fort at St. Georges to propose peace, 407
go to Boston, where they hold a peace conference in the Council Chamber, 407
profess to be delegates from Pigwackets and Penobscots, 408
losses inflicted on English by, 409
make a peace compact with the English at Falmouth, 409
have trouble with Wiscasset settlers, 410
two killed and one wounded in the affray with the whites, 410, 411, note
attack fort at Richmond, 411

Indians, go into Frankfort (Dresden), where they waylay and kill a man, 411
and capture a child, 411
raid Swan's Island, 412
cross over to Parker's Island, 412
appear next at Georgetown, 412
attack the house of a settler, who finally escapes, 412
his house burned by, 412
surprise house of James Whidden, 412
capture Whidden's two sons and take them to Canada, 413
on this raid capture twenty to thirty settlers, 413
their ravages uninterrupted by the English, 413
mostly the work of the Canibas, who later went to Canada, 413
preferred the French to their English neighbors, 413
sold their captives to the French in time of peace, 413
raid the Broadbay settlement at Waldoborough, 413, note
where they butcher a German family named Smith, 413, note
Smith's step-son escapes, 414, note
of the Ohio Valley sounded by the French, 423
natural allies of the French, 425
many of, spoke the language of the latter, 425
habits, customs, and inclination of, led them far apart from the English, 427
not so obtuse but that they made an early discovery of the fact, 427
with a small party of English, appear at Fort Le Bœuf, 427
the errand of the English hostile, 428
with the French, under M. DeVilliers, compel evacuation of Fort Necessity, 430, 431
Aresaguntacooks object to occupancy of Coos lands by English, 433, 434
appear at Number-Four, 433
attack a party of hunters at Baker's River, 434
John Stark captured, 434
who is adopted by, 434, 435
signatures to the treaties with the English described, 438, note
upon announcement of peace with France, retired to their old haunts, 439
Canibas most ferocious of the eastern, 440
ravages of, following Falmouth Treaty of 1749 charged to the Canadian mission tribes, 440
their knowledge of the wilderness trails, 440

Indians, trail from Chaudière to the Kennebec a familiar one, 440, *vide* note
make a raid in direction of Gorhamtown, 441
capture some twenty to thirty settlers along the Presumpscot, 441
capture Bartholomew Thorn, of Gorhamtown, 441
living on tributaries of the Kennebec had easy access to Casco Bay by the New Meadows River, 441, note
appear at Gorhamtown, but are frightened off by a woman, 442, 443
kill a hunter at Paris, Me., and capture another, 444
one of the savages killed, 445
is buried in a bog; the burial described, 445
appear about Falmouth, 445
where they kill Job Burnal, 445, *vide* note
scour the vicinity of New Meadows, 445
capture seven settlers, 445, note
renew Dummer treaty (October, 1753), 446, 447, *vide* note
complaint of, that English were building too many forts, establishing too many settlements, and occupying their best fishing-places, 447
disclaimed the land-titles under which English took possession, 447
claimed the lands in fee, 447
speech of Louis, the Penobscot sachem, 447, note
to be kept good-natured, 448
conference with the Canibas, 448
a provision made by the province to supply, with rum, 448
Canibas demand rum of the English at Fort Richmond, 453
threaten the garrison, 453
attack workmen from Fort Halifax, 455
plans of, with the French, against Fort Halifax prove to be a rumor, 456
no organized disturbance by, along Maine frontier, 456
otherwise along New Hampshire frontier, 456
which was peculiarly exposed to ravages of, 456
make an assault on Bakers-town, where a woman was killed and several settlers were captured, 456, *vide* note
began hostilities as soon as they were informed of war between England and France, 456
infest the Maine frontier (1755), 461
some settlers killed by, and others captured, 461
the raid on Gorhamtown, 461, *vide* note

Indians, at New Boston (Gray), but do little damage, 462, *vide* note
kill two men and burn a house at Frankfort, 462
at Seabody Pond, capture two men, 462, *vide* note
capture five men working in a field at Sheepscot, 462, 463
three of whom are taken to Canada, and two of whom make their escape, 463
kill a man by the name of Snow, above North Yarmouth, 463
war declared by government against, 463
bounty offered for scalps of, also for capture of, 463
Tarratines not involved in these forays, 464
not regarded as allies of the French, 464
efforts of French with, in that direction, 464
Capt. James Cargill, of New Castle, makes a raid on, at Owl's Head, 465
kills twelve and takes their scalps, 465
effect of this butchery, 465
English endeavor to pacify, 465
skulking about the Maine province, 468
able to commit their ravages successfully, 469
capture a man between Forts Western and Halifax, 469
also ambush a man near Fort Western, 469
capture two men at Frankfort, 469
lack of discovery of, by the settlers, commented on, 470
their ravages indicative of a considerable force of, operating in small bands over a wide area, 471
English form a definite plan for the hunting down of, 471
but discover no Indians, 471
Tarratine tribe quiescent, 471
had a wholesome dread of an English bullet, 472
encouraged in their raids on the English by failure of latter to dislodge the French from Crown Point, 473
found an easy waterway between St. Francis River and the Connecticut, 473
scour the Connecticut Valley at will, 473
and retire the way of their coming, 473
appear at New Hopkinton, but were driven off before they could complete their capture of a man and a boy, 473
raid Charlemont, 474
kill two men, but capture two boys who were of the party, 474, and note
another boy escapes to Taylor's fort, 474
descend upon Keene, where they capture a man, 474, *vide* note

Indians, shoot two men at Walpole, 474
engage in a skirmish with a force under Colonel Bellows, 474
savages remain in neighborhood of, until joined by others, 475
attack the Kilborn garrison, 475, *vide* note on 476
retire with a considerable loss, 476
afterward join Dieskau, 476
hover about Number-Four, 477
go to Hinsdale, where they shot two lumbermen, 478, *vide* note
and captured another, 478
ambush three settlers, 478
capture Bridgeman's fort, 478
attack two men from Fort Halifax, 478
hover about garrison of Benjamin Burton at St. Georges, 480
capture Joseph Knight at Gorhamtown, 481
his escape from, and his warning to the settlers, 481
possibly this same expedition of, planned to operate against the settlements, 481
intended raid on English frontier foiled by Knight's escape, 481
raid Flying Point, where they kill settler Maines and his babe, and capture Molly Finney, 482, 483, *vide* note
ambush three men between Brunswick and Harpswell, 483, 484
Cloutman's exploit at Presumpscot Lower Falls, 483, note
kill Brown and wound Winship at New Marblehead, 485
a Sokoki sachem killed by Stephen Manchester at latter place, 486
an Indian wounded at Great Meadows by English from Saccarappa, 486
burn a schooner, kill three men, and capture two others 487
at Arrowsic, Preble and his wife killed by, 487
three of Preble's children taken to Canada, 487
Arrowsic Fort attacked by, unsuccessfully, 487
revenge their failure by killing cattle of the settlers, 487
killing of the salmon-fisher mentioned, 487
eastern, despondent, 488
not only wasted by war, but decimated by smallpox, 488
keep the settlers along Connecticut River in state of constant alarm, 488
rove the Connecticut woods at will, 488
appear at Number-Four, 488
kill Lieutenant Willard and wound his son, 488
raid the Fosters in Winchester and capture entire family of four, 489, *vide* note

Indians, at Hinsdale ambush two men, 489, *vide* note
afraid of New Hampshire men, 489
who were expert backwoodsmen, 489
waylay Captain Lithgow and eight men near Topsham Fort, 491, 496
are compelled to retire with a loss of two, 491
afterward kill two men up river, 491, 496
send flags of truce into St. Georges Fort, 491
ambush two men at Maquoit, who were after hay, 491, note
one of whom is captured, 491, note
Sabattis at head of, 491, note
come to St. Georges Fort, 492
show apprehension of English scouts, 492
the precaution taken by, to avoid surprise, 492
the night skirmish, 493
leave behind a quantity of beaver and some guns, 493
value of plunder taken by the English, 494
attack the house of Ebenezer Hall on Matinicus Island, 494
after a ten days' fight Hall is vanquished and killed, 494
burning the house, the wife and children are taken to Canada, 494
did not trouble outside settlements, 495
make no further raids in 1756, 499
frontier of New England infested by (1757), 500
settlers constantly in danger of, 500
raid Hinsdale, 500
kill a man and his son and carry the family into captivity, 500
kill a man at Number-Four, 500
the wife of, and a soldier captured by, also, 500, *vide* note
with the French, attack Fort St. Georges, 504
are repulsed, 504
attack fort at Meduncook, 504
kill or capture eight of the English, 504
the last raid in Maine, 505
practically annihilated in French and Indian War, 512
only the Tarratines remained, 512
the last recorded assault by savages in Maine, 513
Irish, Stephen, stands off the savages at Westcott's field, 357, note
Iroquois, 425
Isle aux Noix, located, 505, note
French retire to, where they are strongly encamped, 506, note
Isle Royale (Cape Breton), 168

Isle Royale (Cape Breton), the fortifications of Louisburg established on, 168
its strategic importance, 168
vide Cape Breton
Iteansis, signs Peace Treaty at Portsmouth, 158, note

Jackman, Moses, of Boscawen, taken captive in Canterbury, 496, note
Jackoid signs Peace Treaty at Portsmouth, 158, note
Jackson, Dr., of Kittery, fits out a party to go against the Indian water-pirates, 228
chases them into Penobscot Bay, but is wounded and his force compelled to retire, 228
accompanied by Sylvanus Lakeman, 228
a Mr. Cutts, of his party, is wounded, 228
Jacques, Lieut. Richard, of Newbury, accompanies Moulton on his Norridgewock expedition, 236, *vide* note
kills Ralé, 236, *vide* note
the Harpswell company at siege of Louisburg commanded by, 236, note
Jacques, Richard, killed Ralé, 194, note. *Vide* Lieut. Richard Jacques
son-in-law of Captain Harmon, 194, note
was at Norridgewock with Harmon and Moulton, 194, note
moved to Harpswell, 195, note
mortally wounded in a skirmish with the Indians, 195, note
family came from Newbury, 195, note
Jaffrey, George, of New Hampshire Council, attends ratification of Peace Treaty at Falmouth, 280, note
James II., defeated by William III. on the Boyne, 10
his son acknowledged heir to English throne by Louis XIV., 12
Jay Point (Canton), 23, note
Jefts, John, of Groton, of Capt. John Lovewell's company, at Pequawket, 275, note
Jemens, Paul, in the skirmish with the savages at Rochester, 386
Jenness, an early settler of Rye, 203, note
Jennings, Benjamin, killed at Brookfield while haying, 134, note
Jennings, Stephen, killed by Indians while haying in Brookfield, 134, note
Jepsum, a man named, shot at Mousam River, 205
buried by Joseph Hill and some others of the settlers a fortnight after, 205

Jesuits, at Montreal prevent exchange of young Littlefield, 34, note
mentioned, 52
priests sent among the Five Nations to attach latter to the French, 77
efforts to convert English captives, 78
not averse to recruiting the church from ranks of English heretics, 78
Rev. John Williams's experience with, 78
separated from his child by, 78
urge Williams to adopt the Jesuit faith, 78
their arts with the younger English captives, 79
the experience of the Williams boy under Father Muriel, 79
loth to surrender possible material for conversion, 79
also to interfere with the rights of the savage in his captives, 79, 80, *vide* note
the French turned the Indians over to the tutelage of, 117
Indians under their controlling influence, 169
their labors among the Acadians, 171
oppose a formidable influence to the English interests in Acadia, 171
creed of, considered, 291
maintains Catholic ritual in Acadia, 296
savage converts of, augment Maine tribes in forays against the settlers, 300
attitude of, toward English, 415
their labors characterized, 415
dominant influence in New France, 425
their labors and their inspirations among the aborigine, 425
Jeune, La, at Quebec, 14
Job, Colonel, a Penobscot sachem, captured by Proctor's party, 346, also note, 355, note
mentioned, 480
Johnson, at Lake George, failed to capture Crown Point, 466
Johnson, Ichabod, of Woburn, of Capt. John Lovewell's company, at Pequawket, 275, note
Johnson, James, house of, at Number-Four, attacked by savages, 457
his wife and three children and two men, including himself, captured, 458
the wife delivered of a daughter second day of her capture, 458, *vide* note
who is named "Captive," 458
the mother is kindly treated by the savages, 458

Johnson, James, singular nourishment offered the babe, 459
arrive safely at Montreal, 459
Johnson paroled to return to Number-Four for means to redeem his family, 459
aided by New Hampshire Assembly, 459
at Montreal is accused of breaking his parole, 459
final release of the Johnsons, 459
his troubles in Boston, 459
suspected of treasonable designs and imprisoned, 459
his eldest daughter detained in a nunnery, 459
Johnson, Josiah, of Woburn, of Capt. John Lovewell's company, at Pequawket, 275, note
Johnson, Noah, of Dunstable, of Capt. John Lovewell's company, at Pequawket, 275, note
one of the first settlers of Pembroke, 275, note
died at Plymouth, of old age, 275, note
a native of Woburn, 275, note
Johnson, Sir William, succeeds Prideaux upon death of latter before Niagara, 506
Johnson, Thomas, mentioned, 450, note
Jones, Esther, saves the Heard garrison at Dover, 149
Jones, Josiah, of Concord, of Capt. John Lovewell's company, at Pequawket, 275, note
Jonquière, La, 342, note
Jordan, Captain, is stationed at North Yarmouth, with a company of fifty soldiers, 390, note, 398, note
Jordan, Rev. Robert, 37, note
Jordan, Solomon, of Spurwink, killed by savages at, 226
Joseph signs Peace Treaty at Portsmouth, 158, note
Josselyn, John, explores White Mountains, 257, note
writes first narrative description of, 257, note
quoted, 257, note
a guest of his brother Henry at Black Point, 257, note
Jumonville, M. de, killed in a night surprise near Fort Necessity, 430

Kalm, Peter, the Swedish traveler, 338, note
Mr. Higginson quotes, 338, note
also comments on, 338, note
Keene, Indians at, capture Benjamin Twitchell, 474
vide Upper Ashuelot
Kellock, scouting-party has a night skirmish with the Tarratines at the "Gig" (Thomaston), 493

Kellock, for the story of skirmish, *vide* 492, 493
value of the spoils taken by, 494
Kellog (Baker, Nims, and Petty) escapes from Montreal, 80
Kellogg, Joseph, killed by the Indians while haying at Brookfield, 134, note
Kennebec Indians known as Canibas, 24, note
Kennebec Mission, 176
Kennebec Purchase, located along the Kennebec River, 448
the title, 448
heirs of patentees move to investigate condition of property, 448
settlements held by squatters' rights, 448
Plymouth parties announced their legal rights to the land, 448
built two blockhouses, 448
Fort Western, at Cushnoc, and Fort Shirley, at Frankfort, 448, 449, and note
below Fort Shirley was Richmond, 449
Fort Halifax built later, 449, and note
land lay above Fort Richmond, 451, *vide* note
Kennebec River, to Quebec, the natural highway for the Indians, 172
demonstrated by Arnold, 172
Monhegan off mouth of, 227, note
Canibas ravage the settlers along, 413
encroachments of English along, 439
abandoned by the Indians, 440, and note
afforded easy access to the English settlements, 440, note
sources of, 440, note
Penobscots' overland route from Quebec to Androscoggin, 451
reached by way of Sebasticook, 452, note
their most commodious way of passage to Quebec, 452, note
to the Chaudière, 452, note
four forts on, commanding thirty-seven miles, 452
French rumored to be building a fort at headwaters of, 452, 453
Capt. John North, of Pemaquid, sent to investigate, 453
large body of troops sent to, 454
five hundred went to the Kennebec headwaters, 454
remainder began work on Fort Halifax, 454
intended raid on settlements along frustrated by the escape of Knight from his captors, 481
Kennebunk, mentioned, 172
a woman of, puts three Indians to flight, 231, note
Kennebunk (Arundel), Indians attack settlers at, 285
Durrell family captured and house burned, 286

Kensington, 10
Kent, Mr., killed in Beaubassin's attack on Casco Fort, 41
Keyes (Kies), Solomon, of Billerica, wounded in the fight at Lovewell's Pond, 270, note
rescued by a strange providence, 270, note, *vide* 275, note
Kidder, Benjamin, one of Lovewell's men, 260
taken ill on the march, 260
left at a temporary fort with a surgeon and relay of soldiers, 260
Kilborn, John, garrison attacked by the savages, 475
maintains a successful defence, 476, *vide* note
Kilburn, Joseph, of Rowley, killed by the Indians at Dunstable, 92, note
Kimball, Richard, comes upon a band of savages on Kennebunk River road, 229
makes his escape, 230
mentioned, 231, note
King Street, 321, note
mob in, 407
King's Highway, 48
Wells garrison located along, 48
King's Road (Highway), 26, note, 48
Kingston, raided by the savages, 93
Jo English ambushed, 93, *vide* note
ambush the Gilmans, 103
who escape, 103
soldiers desert garrison at, 104
apprehended as deserters, 104
a man shot by savages, 105, *vide* note
a patrol established between, and Cocheco, 111
two children of Ebenezer Stevens captured at, 218
also two men, 218
raiders pursued, 219
the savages kill Jabez Coleman and his son Joseph in a cornfield, 241
Kirebenuit signs Portsmouth Treaty, 158, note
Kittery, assault of savages on, mentioned, 86
Carpenter family annihilated by the savages, 103
two men, Read and Hutchins, shot by the savages at, 121
savages kill a boy at Spruce Creek, 148
another captured, 148
the raid on John Pickering's house, 149
Pickering shot, his wife wounded, and his child scalped, 149

Kittery, mentioned, 228
Kittredge, Jonathan, of Billerica, of Capt. John Lovewell's company, at Pequawket, 275, note
Knight, Joseph, captured by Indians at Gorhamtown, 481, *vide* note
escapes from his captors at the Androscoggin River, 481
had been captured before, 481
warns North Yarmouth of intended raid of the savages, 481
acts as guide to Captain Smith in a hunt for his captors, 482
Knowlton, Thomas, killed in the attack of Vaudreuil on Fort Massachusetts, 374
his body mutilated, 374, 375
Knox, General, mansion of, site of Fort St. Georges, 464, note

Laboree, Peter, captured by the Indians in the raid on the Johnsons at Number-Four, 458
La Chasse, at Georgetown, 185, 186
known as M. Delachase, 186, note
his story of Ralé's death, 237, note
Lakeman, Sylvanus, of Ipswich, accompanies the Jackson expedition to Penobscot Bay, 228
Lamphrey River, Edward Taylor shot by the savages at, 64
mentioned, 97, note
Rawlins family killed and captured at, 199
Lancaster, Thomas, killed at Hampton, 44, note
Indians at, 75, *vide* note
met by Captains Tyng and Howe, 75
after sharp skirmish, English retire, 75
meeting-house and some outbuildings burned, 75
for the story of the attack in the flax-field, *vide* 75, note
Lane, Captain, mentioned, 151
"Laraby, Captain," sent by the English to Acadian coast, 82
probably the same who defended the garrison at Cammock's Neck, 82
Larkin, Isaac, of Groton, of Capt. John Lovewell's company, at Pequawket, 275, note
Larrabee, John, built garrison at Cammock's Neck, 42
from which he was driven (1690), 42
built a second garrison at Prout's Neck, 42
attacked by Beaubassin and his Indians, 42
refuses Beaubassin's demand to surrender, 42
eight fighting-men in garrison, 43
Beaubassin opens a mine, 43

Larrabee, John, some of garrison suggest surrender, 43
Larrabee's courage, 43
rain destroys Beaubassin's mine, 44
and French and Indians abandon the fight, 44
his story a fireside tale, 44
in command at Castle William, 307, note
his death, 307, note
Larrabee, Thomas (Scarborough), 203
Anthony, his son, 203
attacked by Indians and killed, 204, note
also "lereby," 204, note
Larrabee, William, his cabin raided, 33
his fortunate escape, 33
his family butchered, 33
finds his way to Storer's garrison, 33
given liberty to till the highway, 140, note
garrison of, stoutest east of Kennebunk and Piscataqua, 215
situated near the Mousam River, 215
described, 215, 216
had frequently within its walls entire population of Kennebunk, 216
attempt of savages to surprise his garrison, 390
savages outwitted by a dog, 390
the adventure described, 391
another attempt at night surprise by the savages described, note on pp. 391, 392, 393
a fearless and successful fighter, 392
his garrison one of best known in Scarborough, 408
La Salle, 423
L'Auvergat, his labors among the Tarratines, 137
vide Lauverjait
Lauverjait, at St. Famille in 1718, 192, note
with the savages in attack on St. Georges, 192
in Canada during Peace Conference at St. Georges (1725), 250
fans the animosities of the savages against the English, 286, 287
procures a "Declaration of the Chiefs," 287
repudiating peace compact at Falmouth, 287
writes Vaudreuil, 287
also Père La Chasse, 287
finds St. Castin in his way, 288
his dislike for Anselm St. Castin, 288
his counsels do not prevail, 288

Lawrence, Lieutenant-Governor of Acadia, aids in exiling of Acadians, 468, note
Lebanon River, 471
Leighton, Tobias, 305, note
Le Loutre and his Indian allies attack Annapolis, 304, note
"lereby," Anthony, and Thomas killed by the "ingons," 204, note
Leverett, and Townshend, ambassadors to Five Nations from Massachusetts, 77
Levinston, and Gold, ambassadors to Five Nations from Connecticut, 77
Lewis, Ebenezer, shot at Gooch Creek Mill, 216, 217
Lewis, Job, of Boston, a member of the Pejepscot Company, 450, note
had a house at ancient Augusta, 450, note
had a fort on the eastern shore of Merry-meeting Bay, 450, note
located, 450, note
engraved plan of, described, 450, note
Libbey, David, his garrison in Scarborough saved by Nathaniel Dresser, possibly, 388
Capt. Daniel Harvey only man at, when Dresser was shot at gate of, 389
letter from Pepperrell *MSS.* quoted, 389, note
Lighthouse Point, one of the defences of Louisburg, 331
disastrous skirmish for the French at, 331
Gridley at, is active, 332
Lingfield, Corp. Edward, of Nutfield, of Capt. John Lovewell's company, at Pequawket, 275, note
Lithgow, Capt. William, truck-master at Richmond, 446
with Goodwin in charge of the Kennebec region, 448
with eight men, waylaid near Topsham Fort by the savages, 491
two of his men wounded, 491
kill two savages, 491, *vide* note, also 496
Littlefield, a Mrs., coming from York to Wells, captured, 104
with four others, 104
robbed of her money and killed, 104
of the four, one man escapes, 104
the other three butchered, 104
Littlefield, Aaron (Moses), 35, note
Littlefield, Anthony, lived in Larrabee's garrison, 216
Littlefield, Josiah, ambushed in Wells and captured, 109
taken to Canada, 109
his efforts to regain freedom, 109

Littlefield, Josiah, governmental red tape, 109
induces his Norridgewock owner to take him to Sagadahoc, 109
finally brought into Wells garrison, 109, 110, *vide* note
afterward shot by the savages, 110, note, 148, note
his character and official services, 110, note
Littlefield Mill, The, 230, note
Littlefield, Moses, captured and taken to Canada, 34, note
falls into hands of Jesuits, 34, note
Captain Baker finds him in Quebec, 34, note
arranges for his redemption, 34, note
the Jesuits interfere, to prevent, 34, note
rechristened Peter, 34, note, 35, note
marries and adopts Canada as his country, 34, note
his father's death mentioned, 35, note
makes a claim to his father's estate, 35, note
his claim ignored by the court, 35, note
vide deposition of Christian Baker, 35, note
his sister Tabitha captured by the Indians, 35, note
Littlefield, Samuel, lived in Larrabee's garrison, 216
Littlefield, Samuel, of Kennebunk, 230
known as fat Sam, 230, note
ambushed, but escapes by a ruse, 230, note, 231, note
Littlefield, Tabitha, a sister of Moses, captured by the Indians, 35, note
adopted the savage life, 35, note
came into Wells with a party of savages, 35, note
Little Harbor (New Castle), 202, note
Little River, Cole's sawmill on, burned by Indians, 202
Locke, an early settler of Rye, 203, note
Lombard, a settler of that name captured by the savages at New Meadows, 445, note
Long Creek (Stroudwater), Indians attack soldiers at, 357, note
settlers on, in 1753, 446, note
Long Parliament, usage of observing monthly fast in wartime, 146
Lorembec, Petit, English ambushed at, 331
and killed in cold blood, 331
by direction of the French, 331
Lorette, Abenake from, at Georgetown, 185
Lothrop, Captain, with eighty men, ambushed at Bloody Brook, 51
the party massacred, 51
Loudon, Lord, organizes the Rogers Rangers, 490
mentioned, 498

Loudon, Lord, officers under, open to charge of cowardice, 498
Louis, the Penobscot sachem, makes a speech at the renewal of the Dummer treaty (October, 1753), 447, note
Louis XIV., his ambition, 9
gives to D'Harcourt its accomplishment, 9
in a position to dictate to Europe, 9
to be a factor in shaping one nation, 12
his deadly insult to William III., 12
by acknowledging son of James II., 12
dreams of conquest of New England, 12
relies upon his Abenake allies, 12
entertains plans for capture of Boston, 12
St. Castin and D'Iberville suggest, 12
mentioned, 63
old and infirm, 167
his dream of conquest of New England abortive, 167
a suppliant at Treaty of Utrecht, 167, *vide* note
his disposition to barter, 167
his offer unavailing, 167
gives up rights of fishery along Newfoundland shores, 167
keeps Cape Breton, 168
afterward known as Isle Royale, 168
mentioned, 170
Louisburg (Isle Royale), 168
to become a fact, 170
a well-appointed military post, 170
became the strongest fortress on Atlantic coast, 170
fortified by the French, 295, 296
garrison captured at Canso taken to, 304
an exchanged prisoner tells Shirley of, 314
described, 314–316
project to invest, occurs to several persons simultaneously, 316
a visionary scheme, 317
preparations in the English colonies against, 321
armament of English, 321, 322
officers in command, 322, *vide* note
the sailing of English fleet for Canso, 323
the rendezvous at, 323
Vaughn enters city, 327, and note
the story of the siege and capture of, 327–333
the place impregnable to assault, 331
Warren and Pepperrell discuss method of attack on, 332

Louisburg (Isle Royale) results, 332
capture of, great loss to the French, 335
as to delivery of keys of, *vide* 333 to 335, and notes
Catholic chapel at, desecrated by Parson Moody, of York, 336
the cross from, in possession of Harvard University, 336, note
hewed down some "images" with an axe, 336
Voltaire comments on taking of the fortress, 336, note
contributions to the support of, 337
Pepperrell's banquet, 337
Parson Moody's grace, 337
returned to French by Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 338, note
mentioned, 339
capture of, by Amherst, referred to, 504, 505
Love, a Brunswick settler, captured by savages and sent to Canada, 192
Love's Brook, Myles Thompson lived at, 203, note
Lovewell, Capt. John, expedition toward Winnipiseogee Lake, 243
comes upon a lone wigwam, 243
in which were an Indian and a boy, 243
kills the Indian for his scalp, 243
brings the boy to Boston, 243
whose fate is uncertain, 243
undertakes another expedition, 243
comes upon a party of savages, 244
plans a surprise, 244
not one of the savages escapes, 244, 245
his expedition compared with Samuel Wheelright's, 245, note
a fish-story suggested by Penhallow's account of Lovewell's adventure, 246, 247
comes into Dover with ten scalps stretched on hoops and borne on poles, 246
for which the province paid one thousand pounds, 246
captured muskets sold for seven pounds each, 246
Parkman's account differs from Penhallow's, 246, 247, note
determines upon expedition to habitat of Pequawkets, 256
leaves Dunstable, with forty-six men, for Pequawket, 259
is in command, 259, 274, note
dismisses some of his men, 260
builds a fort at Ossipee Lake, 260, *vide* note
leaves Kidder at the fort with a surgeon and soldiers, 260
his fighting-force reduced to thirty-four men, 260
leaves Ossipee, 261

Lovewell, Capt. John, camps in Fryeburg beside what is now Lovewell's Pond, 261
strange noises in the night, 261
a musket-shot punctuates the chaplain's prayer, 262
discovers a lone Indian, 262, *vide* note
council of war, 263, and note
their surroundings, 263, 264
stack their packs against the trees, 264
the advance, 264
a mutual surprise, 264
Lovewell wounded, 265, *vide* note on 264
Seth Wyman kills the Indian who shot Lovewell, 265, *vide* 264
Whiting wounded, 265
the return to camp, 266
their packs had disappeared, 266
attacked by the Pequawkets, 266, 267
the story of the fight, 266, 267, 268, and note, also 274, note
a coward runs away, 267, and note
Seth Wyman breaks up the powwow, 269
Lovewell summoned to surrender, 270, and note
death of Paugus ends the fight, 270, *vide* note, 271, *vide* note
Lieutenant Wyman calls the roll, 271
out of thirty-four men, nine were without injury, 272
eleven badly wounded, 272
thirteen were dead or dying, 272
the retreat, 272, 273
Lovewell Pond, fight mentioned, 243
located, 264, note
list of Lovewell's men engaged in, 274, note, 275, note
Lovewell's invasion of Pequawket country considered, 275
Lovewell's War, last aggressive act of savages in, 286
Lowe, Daniel, ambushed by the Indians, 202
Lowick, a fellow conspirator of Rockwood and Cranbourne, 10
Loyal Hanna, Forbes sends Boquet to, 502, note
Lufkin, John, killed at Pennacook by the Indians, 370, note
Lutwyche (Thornton) Ferry, Dunstable posse under French waylaid near, 242, note
Lyman (Taylor's Hill), 397
Lyman, Caleb, of Northampton, goes Indian-hunting, 65
relates his adventure at Cowassuck, 66, note, 67, note, 68, note
Lyon, Aaron, killed in the fight near Number-Four, 366, note

Mackburn, Lieutenant, killed near Maquoit by savages, 404, note
McFarland, John, lived at Pemaquid, 358
with his son, killed by the savages, 359
his house burned, his cattle killed, and crops destroyed, 359
McKenny, wife of Daniel, killed by Indians at Upper Ashuelot, 363
McKown, Joseph, his wife and child captured by the savages at Colrain, 501, note
McLellan, little Abigail, discovers the massacre of the Bryants, 353
and saves her own people by her agility, 353
McLellan, Captain, aids Molly Finney to escape from Quebec, and afterward marries her, 484, note
McLellan, Hugh, joins Captain Phinney as a settler of Gorham-town, 348
his danger from the savages averted by his dog, 350, 351
a night of anxiety, 351
his daughter's discovery, 353
wife of, blows long tin horn to give the alarm to her husband in the field, 353
the relief from Falmouth, 353
with his family, reaches the fort in safety, 354
walked into Falmouth with Edmund Phinney, 399
McLellan, William, a son of Hugh, 350
escapes with his father into Phinney's fort, 354
Madison (old Norridgewock), 174
Madockawando, Tarratine sachem, 13, note
his daughter marries St. Castin, 13, note
his domain, 13, note
succeeded by St. Castin, 13, note
his death mentioned, 15, note
Magoon, John, of Exeter, has a singular dream, 133, 134
which comes true, 134
Maine, a wilderness, 25
English unable to extend domain into, 25
Casco settlement the frontier, 25
a few scattered garrisons east of Wells, 25
settlers a hardy race, 26
of coarser fiber than the Puritan, 26
the cabin of the Maine settler described, 26
his usual location, 26
did not differ much from the aborigine, 27
the difference racial, 27
their characteristics, 27

Maine, Indian attacks made their condition semi-barbarous, 27
number of towns in (1753), 446
Falmouth most populous place east of Piscataqua, 446, *vide* note
the fort or blockhouse was the nucleus of the hamlet, 446
trading horses in, 446
frontier of (1755), infested by the savages, 461
forts in, 461
one built at Standish, 461
population between Presumpscot River and Saco, 462
lived mostly in forts, 462
that part occupied by the English settler heavily wooded, 470
in which the Indian was as elusive as a wild animal, 471
considerable areas scoured by English scouting-parties, 471
savage, the, an ever-present factor, 478
only Penobscots left in, 490
Canibas had no abiding-place on Kennebec, 490
Indians of, had left their old habitats, 490
Pigwackets annihilated, 490
the raid on the fort at Meduncook the last in, of the French and Indian War, 505
number of towns in, at close of French and Indian War, 516
as compared with the number existing in 1675, 516
their disposition, 516
the country rapidly opened up after the Peace of Paris, 517
Maine Palatinate, Sir Ferdinando Gorges proprietor of, 257, note
Maines (Means, Thomas), house of a settler of that name attacked at Flying Point, 482, 484, note
himself and a babe shot, 482
Molly Finney captured, 482
the escape of his wife and one of his girls, 482, 483
the adventure described, 482
one of his girls escapes by hiding in the ash-hole, 483
Maize, the staff of the settler's existence, 390
as corn-meal, hominy, or samp made a part of every repast, 390
Malcolm, John, ambushed by savages at Maquoit, but gets away safely, 491, note
Manchester, Stephen, goes with Brown to his planting-field, 485
a man of New Marblehead, and a veteran backwoodsman, 485
his ruse to avenge the death of Brown, 485
kills Poland, the Sokoki sachem, 486
his courage and his determination to kill Poland, 486

Manhan, Sam, an Indian of Scarborough, 205
raids Dearing garrison, 204
also that of Job Burnham, 205
had his wigwam beside Nonsuch River, 205
incident at Burnham garrison, 205
buried near site of Carter's mill, 205
his son mentioned, 205
mentioned, 289
Maquoit, soldiers ambushed near, 404, note
settler captured by the savages at, 441
two men ambushed by savages under Sabattis at, 491, note
one, Daniel Eaton, is captured, 491, note
the other, John Malcolm, gets away safely, 491, note
Maquoit Bay, 191
located by Sullivan, 253
Marblehead (New), in need of supplies and men to subsist against the savages, 390, note
March, Colonel, in Port Royal expedition, 101
lands at, with two regiments of English, 101
is engaged by Subercase, 101
holds a council of war with his officers, 102
decides to return to New England, 102
the sport of cowardice or chicanery, 102
his fiasco at Port Royal, 124
March, Major, in command of fort at Casco, 39
approached by Moxus, Wanungonet, and Assacumbuit under flag of truce, 39
holds a parley with the savages, 40
is rescued from their treachery by Sergeant Hook, 40
Beaubassin raises the siege, 41
upon appearance of Captain Southack in the *Province Galley*, 41
determines upon an expedition against the Indians, 47
his partial success, 47
reasons for, 47, *vide* note
Marlborough, mentioned, 11, 104, note
a man at, killed by the savages, 104, 105
settlers pursue savages, 104
capture their plunder and provisions, 105
Marsh River, a highway of the Penobscots, 300, note
Marston, Abner, of Frankfort, captured by savages, 469
Mascarene, Governor at Annapolis, notified by Shirley to hold out against the French until reënforced, 304, note

Mascarene, Governor at Annapolis, message of, captured, 304, note
holds the place until relieved by Captain Tyng, 304, note
Massachusetts, sends a party of scouts to Pejepscot, 23, note
may be Hilton's expedition, 23, note
in which an Indian village and a Jesuit chapel were destroyed, 23, note
alarmed by attack on Deerfield, 46
sends a force into the Pequawket country, 46
also an expedition toward Ossipee Pond, 46
both of which are eluded by the savages, 46
offers a bounty of forty pounds for an Indian scalp, 47, *vide* note
inclined to more vigorous measures, 47, 48
Captain Tyng sent against the Indians, 48
pays him two hundred pounds for scalps, 48
Major Winthrop Hilton not so successful, 48
Captain Stephens's expedition mentioned, 48
gives Hilton twelve pounds for his services, 48
five pounds given to each of his three captains, 48
General Court grants Dedham settlers unoccupied lands north of Hadley, 50
despatches Colonel Church on his fifth and last eastern expedition, 64
controversy between New Hampshire and, 73
over support of defences for eastern settlers, 73
sends twenty friendly Indians into New Hampshire to patrol the frontier, 73
niggardliness and incapacity of government considered, 73
Messrs. Townshend and Leverett ambassadors to Five Nations, 77
to secure neutrality, 77
accompanied by embassy from Connecticut, 77
the embassy successful, 77
Samuel Hill sent by the French to Boston to arrange exchange of prisoners, 77, *vide* note
commissioners despatched to Montreal by, 77
with seventy French and Indians, 77
only sixty English exchanged, 77
a breach of faith charged by, 77
Hill blames the Massachusetts Colony, 78
his reasons not clear, 78
controversy between, and New Hampshire over repair of Fort William and Mary, at New Castle, 85

Massachusetts, Dudley ordered by Queen Anne to repair that fortification, 85
ignores the queen's order, 85
devotes energies to relieving colony of its French and Indian prisoners, 85
sends an expedition to Port Royal, 101, *vide* note
where two regiments under Colonel March made a landing, 101
the skirmish with Subercase, 101
on the lookout for the French, 111
guards and patrols established, 111
uncertain from Schuyler's report as to point of attack by French and Indians, 112
forces inadequate to defend entire frontier, 113
smug complacence in its grudging support of settlers, 118
movement urged against Quebec, 119
quota of, invasion of Canada, 128
Dudley, Thaxter, and Atkinson at Albany, 274
Peace Commissioners at Arrowsic, 275
Colonel Stoddard and Mr. Wainwright of Boston, with Colonel Walton of New Hampshire, at St. Georges, on Arrowsic, 276
hold conference with eastern Indians, 276
sends companies of soldiers to Ammeriscoggin, Rockamagug, and Norridgewock, 281
question of trespassing on the treaty considered, 281
the controversy continues, 281
until meeting of Captain Dwight and a party of savages in conflict, 282
"forty days" terminates, 282
Indian sachems go to Boston, 282, 283
the Agreement of Submission to be solemnly ratified at Falmouth, 283
upon which Dummer attended with a quorum of his council and several members of the General Court, with a guard, 283
declares war against the Indians, 295
known as Governor Shirley's War, 295
population of the colony (1744), 299
anticipates war, 303
pecuniary condition discouraging, 303
General Court of, asked by Shirley to provide for same, 303
laggard response of, brings news of loss of Canso to the English, 304, also note

Massachusetts, no further delay in following Shirley's advice, 304
vigorous measures adopted by, 305
Joint Committee of War appointed, 305
William Pepperrell head of, 305
sends soldiers to Annapolis, 305, 311
prepares to defend against the ravages of the Indians, 305
ammunition distributed to the towns, 305
new forts planned along frontier west of Connecticut Valley, 305, *vide* note
also to the eastward for apportionment of aid to frontier towns, 305, note
strengthens fort in Boston Harbor, 306, *vide* note
sister colonies in a ferment, 306
General Court of, in session almost continuously, 306
declares war against eastern Indians, 312
burden of movement against Louisburg falls on, 319, 320, also notes
applied to for aid in defence of frontiers, 379
which request is considered inexpedient by, 379
recalls its decision, 379
assumes support of frontier garrisons and sends out scouting-parties, 379
Captain Phineas Stevens sent to Number-Four with thirty men, 380
authorities of, make effort to get at wishes of eastern Indians in regard to cessation of hostilities, 407
opens a trading-house at St. Georges, 408
forbids private traffic between settlers and Indians, 408
suggestions to settlers to avoid irritating the Indians, 408
condition of the colony at Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 420
her indebtedness and bills of credit, amount of, 420
ruinous depreciation of, 420
paid fully one half of expense of Shirley's War, 420
demands upon, equal to increase in population, 420
up to the close of Shirley's War she had barely held her own, 420
the pluck of her people, 420
in extending settlements and reviving credit, 420
the arts fostered, and commerce built up, 421
province declares war against the Indians (1755), 440
sends soldiers to Number-Four and Fort Dummer, 459, note
suggests to New Hampshire to build a fort at Cohos, 459, note
raises men for campaign against Canada, 505

Massachusetts Bay mentioned, 154, note
Massachusetts Fort, at Adams, 299
also known as East Hoosac, 369
attacked by French and Indians under Vaudreuil, 371
described, 371, 372
in command of Sergeant John Hawkes, 372
his force weakened by the sending of a detachment to Deerfield for supplies, 372
under Surgeon Thomas Williams, 372
the men at the fort sick, 372
their number, 372, *vide* note
the picturesque surroundings of the fort, 372, 373
the story of Hawkes's defence of, 373, 374, *vide* note on 375
Hawkes, Chaplain Norton, and the women and children protected by the French, 375
soldiers given over to the savages and massacred, 375
Parkman's comment on Vaudreuil, 375
the fort destroyed, 375
Chaplain Norton nails a letter to a charred post of the fort before setting out for Canada, 377, and note
second attack on, averted, 377, note
Massacre Pond (Scarborough), incident of ambush of Hunniwell and his party referred to, 99, note
scene of Hunniwell's death, 162
Massasoit recalled, 290
Masserquick, Gray Lock's fort, 283, note
Massy, Joseph, killed in the fight near Number-Four, 366, note
Matinicus Island, Hull's house on, raided by Indians, 494
Mattawamkeag, Indians had settlement at, 207
favorite fishing-place, 207
Matthews, Capt. Francis, receives scalp-money, 220
Mattoon, Hubertas, killed at Exeter, 96, note
Mattoon, Richard, killed at Exeter, 96, note
Mayberry, a boy of that name, wounded by the savages, makes his escape, 401
his father a settler of New Marblehead, 401, note
Meader, Nathaniel, shot in his field at Oyster River, 64
Means, Thomas, *vide* Maines
Meduncook, fort at, 471
savages at, attack fort at, 504
unsuccessful, they kill or capture eight of the English, 504
Megantic, Lake, 440, note, 441, note

Megantic, Lake, not far from head of Androscoggin River, 440, note
connected by portages, 440, note
Meganumba attends peace formation at Boston, 283
Melvin, Capt. Elezar, scouting-party surprised by savages, 405
loses six men killed, 405
remainder of his party escapes, 405, *vide* note
Melvin, David, of Concord, of Capt. John Lovewell's company, at Pequawket, 275, note
Melvin, Eleazar, of Concord, of Capt. John Lovewell's company, at Pequawket, 275, note
Memphremagog, Lake, 434
Merriconeag, attack of savages on, mentioned, 358
Merrimac River, mentioned, 154, note
some ten settlements on in time of Shirley's War, 360
there were forts in most of these, 360
Merryland District (Wells), Daniel Lowe waylaid by savages at, 202
Merry-meeting Bay, butcheries at, 172
mentioned, 191
first outbreak of savages at, in Lovewell's War, 192
Miami, conflict between French and English begins on, 427
Presqu' Isle the center of action, 427
Micmacs, Jesuit influence over, 171
Middle Bay, 191
Mighill, Samuel, *vide* Samuel Myals, *post*
Military road, ordered built to Lake Winnipiseogee, 201, and note
lack of funds compels abandonment of project, 201, note
Milk, Captain, goes from North Yarmouth with a scout of forty men, 481
accompanied by Captains Ilsley and Skillin, 481
Mine at Casco Fort, 41
Ministry, British, preparations by, for invasion of Canada, 128
fails in its promises to the colonies as to invasion of Canada, 130
English fleet diverted to Portugal, 130
second appeal of Nicholson to, for expedition against Port Royal, 144
approves of, 144
issues orders to colonies to raise quotas, 145
sends fleet to Boston promptly, with seven regiments of Marlborough's veterans, 145
make-up of the English fleet with the New Enlgand forces, 145, *vide* note
" Ministry Meadow," the Stevens boys ambushed at, 211

Mission of St. Famille, 208
Lauverjait settled at, 208
Mississippi River, the French established on, 423
Mitchell, man by name of, killed by Indians at Scarborough, 204
Mitchell, William, of Scarborough killed by savages, 221
his two sons taken to Norridgewock, 221
found there by Moulton in his raid on, 221
Mobile, colonized by the French, 423
Moffat, Robert, of Lower Ashuelot, captured by savages, 365
taken to Canada, 365
Mogg, killed at Norridgewock by a Mohawk, 237, 238
his wife and children are killed here, 238
Mohawks, The, exchange a dog for a musket, 34, note
with Moulton at Norridgewock, charged by latter with burning the Indian village, 237, note
Mohawks, French, band of, surprise ten men of Hilton's garrison in a hay-field, 95
kill four, wound one, and capture three, 95, 96
Moncton, General, succeeds Montcalm in the Battle of Abraham's Heights, 512
Monhegan, 227, also note
Capt. John Smith landed at, 227, note
an island on, off mouth of the Kennebec River, 227, note
Monongahela River, 430
Montague, Sir James, 10
Montcalm, General, mentioned, 497
death of, on the Plains of Abraham, 512, note
is succeeded by Moncton, 512, note
his character considered, 513, note
Montmorenci (River), 509, note
Montreal, Jesuits of, prevent exchange of young Littlefield, 34, note
as to Captain Hill's record of Wells captives taken to, 36, note
efforts of French to attract Indians to, 86
excursions of French and Indians, considered, 137
mentioned, 370
savage expedition from, captures a man in Gorhamtown, 481
Montressor, Colonel, makes a water journey (1760) by way of Chaudière, Du Loup, Penobscot, and Moosehead Lake to the Kennebec, and returned by Dead River and Lake Megantic, 440, note
gave Benedict Arnold intimation that led to his Quebec expedition, 441, note

Moody, Captain, receives flag of truce from Indians, at Casco, 153
Moody, Major, at Somerset Point with Colonel Harmon, 195
plans reprisal on Indians at Pleasant Point, 196, note
appointed to command of colonial forces by Shute, to have his commission recalled by Dummer, 199
Moody, "Parson," of York, hews down the Catholic "images" in the Louisburg Chapel, 337
his peculiar "grace" at Pepperrell's banquet to fleet officers, 337
Moody, Samuel, 306
Moody, William, captured at Pickpocket Mill (Exeter), 123, *vide* note, 124, note
roasted at the stake and eaten, 124, note
Moosehead Lake, 441, note
an Indian thoroughfare, 441, note
Morril, a settler concerned with Peter Bowen in the killing of Sabatis and Plausawa, 435, *vide* note
both men taken into custody, 436
rescued from jail by settlers, 436
Morrill, Rev. Nathaniel, first minister at Rye, 203, note
Morris, Captain, mentioned, 480
Morris, Colonel, a Penobscot sachem killed in a skirmish with the English, under Lieutenant Proctor, 346, *vide* note, *vide* 354, note, 355, note
Morrison, David, captured by the savages at Morrison's fort, 362, note
Morrison, Edward, house of, in the Larrabee garrison, 215
Morrison's fort, David Morrison captured almost under its shadows, 362, note
at Colrain, attacked by the savages, 501, note
John Morrison wounded, 501, note
John Henry killed, 501, note
savages kill the herds, and gorge themselves upon roasted mutton, 501, note
with a parting volley at the fort, they draw off, 501, note
Mosher, Daniel, joins Phinney as a settler of Gorhamtown, 348
his effort to save Bryant from capture, 352
Mostyn, Admiral, participates in the exiling of Acadians, 468, note
Motte, Fort La, scene of skirmish between Captain Wright and the Mohawks, 125
Moulton, Captain, with others, surprised Norridgewock, 194, note
with Harmon, Brown, and Bean, makes an expedition to Norridgewock, 232

Moulton, Captain, rendezvous at Richmond, 232
set out for Ticonic Falls, 232
his force described, 232
goes into camp at the Falls, 232, *vide* note
after nightfall starts for Norridgewock, 232
Bomazeen's daughter killed, 233
his squaw shows the way to Norridgewock, 233
story of the destruction of, 233–238
the death of Ralé, 236
retires to Ticonic Falls, 238
his regret that he had not taken Ralé alive, 239
Mousam mill, 143, note
Mousam River, Indians at, 205, 281
Larrabee's garrison near, 215
Moxa, a Tarratine squaw killed by Cargill's men at Owl's Head, 465
with her babe, 465
Moxus appears before the fort at Casco with a flag of truce, 39
Munroe, Colonel, his surrender to Montcalm mentioned, 497
and the butchery of his men, 497
Murch, a Biddeford settler, captured by the Indians, 393, and note
taken to Canada by way of the White Hills, 393, note
Muscongus, fort at, 471
Mussey, the widow (a noted Quakeress), killed in raid on Hampton, 44
Myals, Samuel, captured by the Mohawks, escapes, 96, *vide* note
also note of Rev. Mr. Pike, 96
probably Mighill, 96, note

Nanrantsouak mentioned, 182
Nanrantsouak (Norridgewock), as a boundary of English territory, 249, note
Nantasket, expedition against Port Royal, leaves, 101, *vide* note
fleet in expedition against Louisburg, sails from, 323
Narahamegock, 154, note
Narragansett, No. 7 (Gorhamtown a part of), 308
its first settler, 347
ten families made up the settlement at breaking out of Shirley's War, 347
its population given, 347
a fort here, 347
vide Gorhamtown
Narrows (North St. Georges River), garrison at, 472

Nashua, Indians in neighborhood of, 76
Nashua River mentioned in connection with attack on Ames's cabin, 224, note
Nathaniel, Captain, one of the savages in the party that captured Plaisted, 152, 153, note
Natick, quarrel of settlers over boundary-line of Indian plantation at, 50
Nawagen Cape, 277, note
Neal, Andrew, his garrison at Berwick attacked, 63
the savages repulsed by Captain Brown, 63
in revenge, savages torture one of their captives, 63
Necessity, Fort, the name of a stockade built by Washington at Great Meadows, 430
evacuated by him, 431
opening battle of French and Indian War fought here, 431
which was to revise the geographical boundaries of Europe, 439
Neddock, Cape, Indians make a foray at, 85
capture four of Storer's children, 86
one savage killed, 86
Storer's youngest child tomahawked, 86
another supposed to have been tortured, 86
mentioned, 86
French and Indians surprise small party of English at, 148
Sergeant Walton killed in the skirmish, 148
seven of the English captured, 148
relieved by Captain Willard and his party, 148
Nelson, Jeremiah, of Rowley, killed at Dunstable by the Indians, 92, note
Nescamboũit (Assacumbuit), with Rouville at the massacre of Haverhill, 114, note, 115, note
Nesket, 251, note
New Boston (Gray), savages at, 462
English scouting-parties at, 471
Newbury, Chaillons decides not to raid, 112
New Casco, funeral of Joseph Sweat, killed by the savages on the trail to Yarmouth, 358
New Castle, Fort William and Mary at, 85
Rye petitions to be set off from, 202, *vide* note
mentioned, 464
New England Colonies, mentioned, 295
affronted by cession of Cape Breton to French as a peace condition, 406

New England Colonies, charges for capture of, by the Provincial forces mentioned, 406
colonies have no control over disposal of Cape Breton, 407
Boston public incensed, 407
measure of, filled with disappointments, 499
meet the demands of British Ministry cheerfully, 500
raise new regiments, 500
their disposition, 500
eastward, Louisburg the objective, 500
westward, Ticonderoga, Frontenac, and Duquesne, 500
frontier of, infested by savages, 500
"New England Gift," its meaning, 82
Newfoundland, abandoned by its pioneers, 296
who seek the protection of the French at Louisburg, 296
Newfoundland fisheries rights to pass to English at Treaty of Utrecht, 167
New-found Pond (between Bristol and Hebron), two men killed at, while hunting beaver, 496, note
New France, mentioned, 296, 298
suffers from drouth, 337
her condition compared with that of English colonies, 419
had not extended her frontiers, 419
character of her population, 419
her government priest-ridden, 419
her policy, 420
traded in English men, women, and children, 420
had been immune from English invasion until capture of Cape Breton, 420
after Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle dominant question was one of boundaries, 421
the Count of Gallissonnière Governor of, 423
sends Véléron de Bienville to survey the Ohio Valley, 423
Duquesne, Governor of, 424
dominated by priest, soldier, and noble, 425
its *habitants* and *coureurs du bois*, 425
unlike the English colonies, almost feudal, 425
disposition for conquest begun by Champlain, 425
under the influence of the Jesuit, 425
Indians natural allies of, 425
amalgamation of the French and Indians, 425
population of (1753), 425
influence of the Jesuit, 426

New France, settlements more compact than those of English, 426
described, 426
New Gloucester, English scouting-parties at, 471
New Hampshire, her controversy with Massachusetts over the burden of former entirely supporting defence of eastern frontier, 73
sends counter-petition to Queen Anne in Dudley's behalf, 102, note
towns garrisoned, 112
quota of, in invasion of Canada, 128
mentioned, 134, 154, note
last foray (1710) on frontier of, 135
Indians of, become residents of St. Francis Mission, 136
fits out shallops against the Indian freebooters, 228
a party goes from Kittery under Jackson and Lakeman, 228
which comprise the naval exploits of the English against, 228
last foray in, in Lovewell's War, 279
commissioners from, attend confirmation of peace treaty with Indians at Falmouth (1726), 279, note
Benning Wentworth Governor of, 299
frontier of, exposed to savage raids, 300
active population spread over the province, south and west, 302
votes aid to Louisburg expedition, 319, 321
contingent waits at Canso, 323
its share of reimbursement made by the Crown on account of the Louisburg expedition, 340
harassed by the savages, 359
who are especially vindictive, 359
on frontier of, cattle of settlers are butchered, while fences are broken down, and the cows often went unmilked, 360
a garrison is surprised by the savages and its eight inmates captured, 363
included in the Peace Conference at Falmouth (October, 1749), 409
controversy in relation to maintenance of Fort Dummer, 433
some consideration of the same, 433
savage episode of Baker's River, 434
Assembly votes one hundred fifty pounds sterling toward the redemption of James Johnson and family, 459
ignores recommendation of Massachusetts to build a fort at Cohos, 459, note
Acadian exiles mentioned in connection with, 468

New Hampshire, men of, expert backwoodsmen, 488
three companies of Rogers Rangers made up from, 490
Folsom's men mentioned, 490
most famous of, were the two Starks, John and William, 490
ravages of the Indians confined to frontier of, and that of Maine, 490
Indians of, had left their old habitats, 490
Pennacooks had disappeared, 490
Pigwackets were annihilated, 490
raid at Country Farms, last of 1756, on frontier of, 490
onslaughts of savages on frontier of, is suggestive, 490
military preparing for Crown Point expedition, 496
disposition of the troops raised by, 496
a regiment under Meserve sent to Halifax, 496
men stationed at Number-Four under Major Tash, 498
New Hopkinton, man and boy escape capture at, 473
skirmish between wood-rangers and Indians at, 473
go to Keene from, 474
New Jersey, queen's messenger sent to Governor of, 129
offers aid in support of Louisburg as an English frontier, 337
New Marblehead (Windham), settlement at, 308
the northern boundary of Gorhamtown, 347
Indians at, capture William Bolton, 401, *vide* note
and wound a Mayberry boy, who escapes, 401, *vide* note
the settlement warned by the gunshots of the savages, 401
settler captured by savages at, 441, *vide* note
savages at, 485
attack a party of planters, 485
kill settler Brown, 485
wound another named Winship, 485
the leader of the savages, Poland, is shot by Stephen Manchester, 485, 486
the party returns to the fort at, 486
alarm-gun of, summons men from Saccarappa, 486
who capture some guns and packs of the savages, 486
Newmarket, 201, note
New Meadows, mentioned, 179
settlers of, attacked by the Indians, 225, note
two women killed at, by savages, 398
Seth Hinkley killed by savages at, 402, note
killing of Isaac Hinkley mentioned, 414, note
seven settlers captured by the savages at, 445, note

New Meadows, in 1675 most easternmost settler at, 515
in 1760 the English occupied the domain of St. Castin, 516
New Meadows (Putney), a horse and his rider shot by the savages, 342, 343
by the name of Howe, 343, note
New Meadows River, Indians attack cabin of Purchas at, 25
offered easy access to Casco Bay, 441, note
New Orleans, settled by the French, 423
Newton, Mr., 194
New World, standing of New France and New England in, 419
New York, quota of, in the invasion of Canada, 128
votes aid to expedition against Louisburg, 318
offers support in maintenance of fortress at Louisburg, by the English, 337
Niagara, expedition against the French at, planned by the English, 460
Shirley's plans against, miscarry, 466
to be attacked by the English, 505
captured, 506, 507
Nicholson, Francis, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, 127
colonial representative at English Court, 127
to interest home government in movement against Canada, 127
with Vetch, is successful, 128
to have command of expedition against Canada, 128
goes to New York, 129
builds a fort near Saratoga, 129
where he waits in vain for news from Boston, 129
his army stricken with disease, 129
goes to England to interest Ministry in expedition against Quebec, 144
meets with approval, 144
returns with instructions to colonies to raise their quotas, 145
a full compliance with, impossible, 145
his army mentioned, 460
Nicolai's Island, Indian village on, found by Westbrook, 207
Nikisipigue, Lake (Winnepesauke, Winnipiseogee), 115, note
Nims (Baker, Kellog, and Petty) escapes from Montreal, 80
Nipmucks, habitat of, in neighborhood of Deerfield, 50
their conveyance to Deerfield settlers, 50
with certain reservations, 50
conveyance characterized, 50

Niverville, Jean Baptiste de, with a force of French and Indians, attacks Number-Four unsuccessfully, 383, note, 383–385
vide Number-Four
Noble, Colonel, built a fort at ancient Augusta (Small Point Harbor), 449
described, 450, note
Nock, James, killed near Oyster River, 218, *vide* note
Nonsuch, The, scene of an adventure of Charles Pine, 157
Nonsuch River, Carter's mill on, 205
tide sawmills on, 205
Norridgewock (Indian Old Point), mentioned, 112
two days' canoe-ride from the English, 175
five days from Quebec, 175
surrounded by an unbroken wilderness, 175
the Indian village described, 175, *vide* note
chapel had a bell, 176
Hilton here in winter of 1705, 176
place deserted, puts it to the torch, 176
Indians send a deputation to Boston, 177
ask English to rebuild church, 177
deputy's arraignment of English sincerity, 177, note, 178, note
request of, granted, 178
of the eastern tribes, most bitter against English, 181
had reasons for keeping up appearance of peace, 181
but were distrusted by the settlers, 181
at Georgetown conference, 182
Wiwurna, the orator of the tribe, speaks for his race, 182
their subsequent depredations, 184, 185, note
promise indemnity, 184, 185
leave four hostages with English, 185
wavering toward English alarms Ralé, 185
parade of, at Georgetown, 186, *vide* note
destruction of, determined upon by the English, 228
Moulton and Harmon, expedition of, against, 232
"Nerigwok," 233, note
its church burned by the English, 234, note
sacked by the English and the place destroyed, 234, 235, 236, and note, 237, and note
the death of Ralé, 236, and note
shot by Richard Jacques, 236
Mogg's death at the hands of a Mohawk whose brother the former had killed, 237

Norridgewock (Indian Old Point), burning of, charged by Moulton to the Mohawks in his party, 237, note
destruction complete, 238
Indians obliterate, 238
Penhallow's estimate of Norridgewocks killed by Moulton's men, 238
twenty-six scalps taken, 238
tribe unable to recover from its losses at this time, 238
remnants of, seek shelter of St. Francis de Sales, 238
number of fighting-men in Norridgewock village when attacked, 239, note
Belknap's story of the fight, 239, note
church at, Abenake demand the rebuilding of, 248, note
Vaudreuil's Jesuit agent at, 249
destruction of, improves the situation for the English settler, 256
company of soldiers sent to, 281
take no part in peace treaty at Falmouth, 285
Norridgewock Mission, mentioned, 137
a canoe-ride of a day from Ticonic Falls, 137
Norridgewocks, delegates from, at Casco, 18
at Portsmouth, 154, note
one of the three great Abenake families, 172
a description of their settlement, 174
uneasy, and instigated by Ralé, 180
a delegation of, attends Peace Conference at Falmouth, of October, 1749, 409
their departure from the Kennebec noticed, 440, note
supposed to have joined the St. François tribe, 440, note
renew Dummer treaty (October, 1753), 447
cut off from Penobscots by Fort Halifax, 452, note
North, Capt. John, of the Pemaquid garrison, investigates headwaters of the Kennebec River, 453
Northampton, settlers join in pursuit of De Rouville, 58, note
attack on, mentioned, 71, 73, 74
Northborough, two women attacked, 104, notc
one escapes, the other killed, 104, note
settlers pursue the savages, 104, note
two settlers killed in the fight with the raiders, 104, note
savages routed, leaving their packs and the murdered woman's scalp, 104, note
Northfield, most northerly settlement in Connecticut Valley, 50
Captain Wright sets out from, on a scout, 125

Northfield, raided by Gray Lock, 210
two men killed, 210
mentioned, 211
savages in neighborhood of, 225, note
the frontier settlements of Connecticut Valley extended northward, 308
Northfield Meadows, 214, note
Indians at, kill a man, 214, note
wound two and capture another, 214, note
North Yarmouth, former destruction of, mentioned, 254
deserted for nineteen years, 254
sawmill of Nathaniel Weare, 254
records of settlement placed in safe keeping, 254
laying out of lots for settlers, 255
location of, 255
escaped destruction, 255
Indians at, waylay William and Matthew Scales, 255
garrison at, attacked after treaty formation at Boston, 280
depredations confined to herds of the settlers, 281
reclaimed by the English, 308
savages at, kill Philip Greeley, 343, 344, also note
intended to attack Weir's garrison, 344
two forts at, 344
Indians come into, 356
scatter into small parties along edge of Falmouth, 356
mentioned in connection with killing of Sweat and Greeley, 358
Captain Bean sent to, 390, note
settlers at, in constant danger from the prowling Indians, 398, *vide* note
only soldiers those of Captain Jordan's company, 398, note
mentioned, 404
a scouting-party, under Captain Milk and Captain Ilsley, goes from, 481
and Skillin, 481
another expedition scouts under Captain Smith, 482
Indians kill a settler at Flying Point, 482
mentioned, 484
Nottingham, savages raid, 387
kill two men and one woman, 387
Nova Scotia, a disturbing factor, 137
mentioned, 310
English occupy Chibucto Harbor on coast of, 421

Nova Scotia, anticipated by the French, who claimed the territory from the St. John River to the Penobscot, 422
the home of the Acadians, 422
expedition against, successful, 466
that territory reclaimed by Winslow for the English, 466
depopulated of its neutral French, 466
Acadians swept from their hamlets into exile, 466
Noyes, Dr., undertakes a fishery at Augusta, 180, note
builds a fort at that place, then known as Cushnoc, 180, note
the best in that country, 180, note
burned by the Indians, 180, note
Number-Four (Charleston), Indians at, 362
where they compel Nehemiah How to write his name on a bit of birch-bark, 362
raided in the spring of 1746, 362
capture three men who are out with a team, 362
their cattle found butchered by the neighboring settlers, 362
women go to milking under a guard, 364
Indians at, take possession of a barn, 364
Seth Putnam is killed, 364
Major Willard in command of the guard opens fire on the savages while they are scalping their victims, 364
with good effect, 364, *vide* note
the garrison strengthened by a troop under Captain Paine, 365
kill a man named Phillips close to the fort, 367
some of the garrison go out to get the body, and are attacked by the savages, 368
burn some buildings, and butcher the cattle of the settlers, 368
ambush Joseph Rawson, 368
garrison at, being without supplies, is deserted, 379
occupied by a scouting-party under Capt. Phineas Stevens, 380, *vide* note
the dog and the cat found at, 380
Stevens brings along more dogs, 380
their uneasiness attracts attention of Stevens, 380
one of Stevens's men investigates, 381
discovers the savages, 381
his adventure with, 381
who at once make an attack on the garrison, 381
the fort threatened with destruction, 382
saved by Stevens's vigilance, 382
siege continued two days, 382

Number-Four (Charleston), a second attempt to fire the fort, 382, 383
the truce, 383
surrender of fort suggested by a French officer, 383
meets chief officer in command of French and Indians, who threatens to storm fort, 383, 384
Stevens's answer, 384
attack on garrison renewed by French and Indians, 384
a cessation of hostilities, 384
Niverville sends two savages under flag of truce to Stevens with a request that latter sell him some provisions, 384, 385
Stevens's refusal, 385
offers supplies at rate of five bushels of corn for every English captive brought from Canada, 385
Niverville's force retires, 385
English loss in this fight two wounded, 385, *vide* note
runner sent to Boston with news of the brave defence of the place, 385
some settlers captured at, while the snows were deep, 387
Captain Stevens again stationed at, 405
a part of Melvin's scouting-party reaches, safely, 405
larger part of garrison at, withdrawn upon news of the peace between England and France, 406
Obadiah Sartwell killed by savages near, 406
Captain Stevens's son captured and taken to Canada, 406
Indians appear at, to remonstrate against occupancy of the Coos lands by the English, 433, 434
fort at, exposed and in need of assistance, 457, note
its history, 457, note
house of James Johnson attacked by savages, 457, 458
all the inmates captured and taken to Canada, 458
commanding position of, 458, note
Massachusetts Assembly finally sends soldiers for defence of, 458, note
Johnson returns to, 459
New Hampshire troops go out by, to Albany, 460
Indian ravages committed on the cattle of the settlers, 477
Lieutenant Willard killed and his son wounded at, 488
New Hampshire troops for Crown Point to rendezvous at, 496
attacked by French and Indians, 496
capture three men, 496
Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe ordered to, by General Webb, 496

Number-Four (Charleston), burn the mills at, 497
retire upon the discovery of approach of the troops under Goffe, 497
come upon two settlers, whom they capture, 497
the troops at, under Major Tash, 498
first important force posted there, 498
Asahel Stebbins killed at, 500
his wife, and a soldier named Parker captured, 500, *vide* note
settlers pastured their cattle in the woods, 500

Occapee mentioned, 493
Ohio River, French established on, 423
Ohio Valley, the French make a survey of, and take possession of in the king's name, 423
occupation of, by the French, 424
a rich country, 424
French masters of, 431
General Forbes scouring the, 501
Fort Duquesne abandoned by the French, 502
"Old Indian House," Stebbins's garrison at Deerfield, 58, note
Oldtown, mentioned, 207
remnant of Abenake at, 516
also at Pleasant Point, 516
Ongewasgone does not remember any report of his ancestors selling the Kennebec lands to the English, 455, note
Orleans, Island of, occupied by Wolfe, 507
had been intrenched, 507
Ossipee, Colonel Walton leads an expedition into that country, 143
portion of Abenake have habitat along, 259
Ossipee Lake, Lovewell's fort at, 260, note
country of the Ossipees, 262, note
Lovewell at, 262
Ossipee Pond mentioned, 246, note
Ossipee Ponds, Captain Davis's expedition to, 46
Ossipee tribe, 262, note
Oswego, loss of, not encouraging to New England, 498
Otis, father of the famous rebel, attends Peace Conference at Falmouth, 409, note
dines with Parson Smith, 409, note
Owascoag River mentioned, 179
Owl's Head (on the Penobscot), 300, note
Oxford, Indians attack a house at, 211, *vide* note

Oxford, Indians at, repelled and driven off by a woman, 211, note
Oyster River, attacked, 64
Nathaniel Meader killed, 64
savages appear at, 76
women defend fort at, 87
John Wheeler killed, 87
his four sons escape, 87
capture two settlers, 103
raided by thirty Mohawks, 105, note
Bartholomew Stevenson killed at, 124
Jeremiah Cromwell shot at, 147
sawmill on, destroyed, 148
James Nock shot in neighborhood of, 218
George Chesley and Elizabeth Carr ambushed, 219

Padishal's Island, 186, note
lies opposite Arrowsick, 186, note
Paine, Captain (and Major Wanton), captured a French sloop, 88
under command of Captain Ferrel, 88
Paine, Captain, and his troops ambushed by the savages, 365, 366
at the place where Seth Putnam was killed, 366
relieved by Captain Stevens, 366
English engage the savages in a brisk fight, 366
one soldier captured; five killed, 366, also note
Panawamske, Lauverjait writes Vaudreuil from, 287
Paris, Indians at, 444
kill one hunter and capture another, 444
Paris, The Peace of, opens up the Dominion of Maine to the settler, 517
Parker, Isaac, captured at Number-Four by the savages, 362
comes into Boston under a flag of truce, 363, *vide* note
Parker's Island, Indians at, 412
Parkman, Mr. Francis, follows Penhallow's account of massacre of Hunniwell and his party, 99, note
Parsons, a man of that name shot by the Indians at Brunswick, 202
Parsons, Mrs., and her daughter captured at York, 46
Parsons, William, cabin of, surprised by the savages, 33, note
one daughter captured, 34, note
remainder of family escape to York, 34, note
is later captured at house of Arthur Bragdon, with one of his children, 34, note
short of supplies on the way to Canada, 34, note

Parsons, William, the savages offered the Parsons girl to the Mohawks for a dog, 34, note
her fate a mystery, 34, note
Pascomok Fort, 71, note
barbarities of savages at, 72, *vide* note
Pascommuck (Easthampton), garrison surprised and captured, 71, *vide* note
most of the captives killed, 71, note
Capt. John Taylor killed at, 72, note
and Sam Bartlett wounded, 72, note
Passaconaway recalled, 290
Passadumkeag, fort and Indian settlement at, destroyed by Westbrook, 207, 208
in diocese of Lauverjait, 208
houses were of wood; fort described, 208
mentioned, 251
Passamaquoddies still live at Pleasant Point, on the bay of that name, 515
Passamaquoddy, Colonel Church at, 64
Patrick, Colonel, express sent to, captured by a Montreal party, 81
with the fifty pounds for expenditure in the frontier service, 81
Patrols established from St. Georges to Saco, 464
Paugus, sachem of Pequawkets, 259
joins Wahwa at Saco River, 265
killed, 270, 271, and note
known to many of Lovewell's men, 270, note
from Symmes's account, he was killed by John Chamberlain, 270, note
the tradition given, 271, note
mentioned, 289
Peace, Articles of, executed, 153
the draft of, 154, note to, 158, note
signers to, 158, note
Peak, John, assists in defence of Kilborn's garrison, 475, 476, note
Peales, capture of, at Gorhamtown referred to, 461
Pearl, William, killed at Dover by the savages, 96, *vide* note
Pearle, Nicholas, 96, note
Pearsontown, 461
vide Standish
Pease, Samuel, killed at Exeter, 96, note
Pejepscot, Massachusetts sends party of scouts to, 23, note
possibly Hilton's expedition, 23, note

Pejepscot Company, 450, note
Pejepscot Purchase, mentioned, 191
settlers of, built on New Meadows River, 191
now Merriconeag Neck, 191
Pejepscot River, on the falls of, Fort George was built, 194
here was the Brunswick settlement, 194
Pelham Fort, at Rowe, 299
Pemaquid, eastern New England frontier settlement (1745), 302, 308
fort and settlement at, 301, 339, note
savages kill cattle at, 355, note
John McFarland lived at, 358
who, with his son, is killed and scalped, 359
his property destroyed, 359
last raid for 1746 east of Saco, 359
invaded by a force of French and Indians, 398
settlers lose ten men killed and three captured, 398
Fort Frederic at, attacked by savages, 401
who ambush and kill five men, 401
savages repulsed, 401, *vide* note
Penhallow, careless of his dates, 97, note, 98, note, 99, note
Penhallow, Captain, at Georgetown, 186
fears an intrigue, 186, note
holds a conference with "Delachase," "Rallé," "Crozen," and "St. Casteen," 186, note
Pennacook (Concord), ambush planned by savages fails, 369
five settlers killed and two captured, 369, *vide* note
on road from Concord to Hopkinton, 369
monument erected to their memory, 369, note
settlers warned by savages firing upon some cattle, 387
make up a party to hunt the savages, 387
who are surprised by their sudden appearance, and decamp, with a loss of their packs and blankets, 387
one Englishman killed, 387
perhaps a Mr. Estabrook, 387, note
Pennacooks, at Casco, 18
delegates at Portsmouth from, 154, note
had disappeared, 490
Pennsylvania, quota of, in invasion of Canada, 128
queen's messenger sent to Governor of, 129
votes aid to Louisburg expedition, 319
offers to aid in support of Louisburg, 337
Penobscot, Colonel Church at, 64

Penobscot Falls, Indian settlement at, 207
Indian village at, destroyed by Heath, 251
Penobscot River, Tarratines on, mentioned, 172
interlocks with headwaters of the Chaudière, 440, note
Penobscot wilderness, Indians hide from Westbrook in, 208
Penobscots, under Montigny, capture fort at Pascommuck, 71, note
route taken by, to reach New England frontier, 130, note
enter into peace treaty with English at Casco, 284
French make census of, 288
their warriors number two hundred, 288
mentioned, 300
delegates of, at Boston, 408
delegation of, attends Peace Conference at Falmouth, 409
renew Dummer treaty (October, 1753), 447
realize their inability to cope with the English, 472
alone of eastern Indians kept a footing in their old settlements, 490
were making overtures for peace, 490
Pentagoët mentioned, 173, 422
Pepperrell, Sir William, mentioned, 168
instructed to charge settlers to avoid arousing Indians, 303
head of Joint Committee of War, 305
activity of, 305, *vide* note
chief in command of Provincial forces against Louisburg, 322
quotation from a private note found in his papers referring to Governor Shirley, 322, note
at Canso is held up by the ice, 325
detained at Canso three weeks, 325
summons Duchambon to surrender, 329
discusses the matter with Warren, 329
jealousy of latter for prestige, 329
with Warren, rejects Duchambon's proposals to surrender, 332
final stipulation, 332
defrauded of his honors by a trick of Warren's, 333, note
his magnanimity toward Warren, 333, note, 334
in possession of Louisburg, 334
however, he presents keys of Louisburg to Shirley, 334, note
the credit of the enterprise considered, 334
Wolcott says, received keys at the south gate, 334, note
for contemporary discussion, *vide* notes on 333, 334, 335
the luster of, increased with the lapse of time, 335
gives a banquet; Parson Moody's grace, 337

Pepperrell, Sir William, given a baronetcy, 339
his expenditures in the Louisburg campaign, 339
commissioned a colonel in the British army, 339
empowered to raise a Provincial regiment to be equipped by the Crown, 339
a letter found in his *MSS.* quoted, 389, note
Pequawket settlement, expedition against, futile, 46
March's expedition, 47
mentioned, 112
trail from Norridgewock to, 200
Wheelright's expedition against, fails, 246, note
Pequawkets, at Casco, 18
expedition against, planned, 31
migrate to the St. Francis Mission, 136, 137
expedition against, projected by Captain Lovewell, 256
tribal habitat on the Saco, 256
camping-place at Pine Hill, 259
Paugus, sachem of, 259
their village in Fryeburg located, 264, note
strike the trail of the English, 265
follow the English to Lovewell's Pond, 266
capture packs of latter's party, 266
plan an ambush, 266
the assault, 266, 267
the fight continued, 268–271
beaten, and their spirit cowed, 274
Pequods, sale of, into slavery by Massachusetts, 414
Perelle, La, at Louisburg, 332
Perkins, Jacob, 306
Perrin, Peter, killed in the fight near Number-Four, 366, note
Perrot, M., at Port Royal, 14, note
Peter, name given to Moses Littlefield by the Church, 34, note
Peters, Obadiah, killed by savages at Pennacook, 369, note
Petty (Baker, Nims, and Kellog) escapes from Montreal, 80
Philadelphia, treaty with the Six Nations entered into at, 299
Philip v. (Charles II.), 7
Philip, King, War of, mentioned, 513
Philips, Sergeant, kills an Indian and escapes, 386
Phillips, Governor at Annapolis, obtains unconditional submission of Acadians on Annapolis River, 297
Phinney, Capt. John, the first settler of Gorhamtown, 347
his garrison on Fort Hill, 348

Phinney, Capt. John, garrison proved a safe refuge and the salvation of the Gorhamtown settlers, 348
joined later by McLellan and Mosher, 348
Phinney, Edmund, adventure of, as he goes after his cows at Gorhamtown, 399
goes to Falmouth to have his arm set by Dr. Coffin, 399
Phippeny, Mr., killed in Beaubassin's attack on Casco Fort, 41
Phipps, Capt. Samuel, of Charlestown, custodian of records of North Yarmouth, 254
Phipps, Sir William, mentioned, 156, note
Phipps, William, captured in his corn-field, 360
kills his captor with his hoe, 361
is finally killed by others of the party, 361
Phips, Lieutenant-Governor, mentioned, 453, note
Phips, Spencer, mentioned, 158, note, 308, note
Pickard, John, mortally wounded by the Indians, 92, note
Pickering, John, his house raided, and himself killed, 149
his wife and child wounded, 149
Pickpocket Mill (Exeter), raided, 123
William Moody captured, 123
also two sons of Gilman and Stevens, 124
"Pigwackell," 246, note
Pigwacket (Pequawket), 122
delegates at Portsmouth from, 154, note
Pigwackets, delegates of, at Boston, 408
had been annihilated, 490
Pine, Charles (of Scarborough), a famous hunter, 156
his name given to Pine Point, 156
his adventure in the cabin by the Nonsuch, 157–159
routs the savages from their uncouth diversions before the garrison, 159
his companion, Hunniwell, 160
Pine Hill (Fryeburg), camping-place of Pequawkets, 259
Piscasick River, 199, note
Piscataqua, fisheries and trade attracting settlers to, 308
savages range the country to the eastward of, 388
Piscataqua frontier for forty years scene of savage butchery, 179
Piscataqua River, settlers in neighborhood of, lived in constant terror of the savages, 44
carried their muskets on their journeys and into their fields, 44
posted guards while they carried on their labors, 45
troop of horse at Portsmouth, 45. *Vide* Portsmouth

Piscataqua River, Indians in neighborhood of, 84
in 1744 several new towns east of, 300
three settlements on, in time of Shirley's War, 360
Pitt, recalled to the British Ministry, 499
sets about measure to retrieve losses in America, 499, *vide* note
to operate against French by sea and land, 499
allotment of supplies by the Crown, 499
colonies to furnish their men with clothes and compensation, 499
which meet the requisition cheerfully, 500
Pitts, James, directed by the province to supply truck-master Goodwin with a barrel of rum for the Indians, 448
Pittsburg, Fort Duquesne located at, 430
Pittsfield (Poontoosuck), 299
Place, George, in skirmish with savages at Rochester, 386
Place, John, in skirmish with savages at Rochester, 386
Placentia, abandoned by the inhabitants for Louisburg, 296
a raid upon, planned by the Governor of Cape Breton, 311
Placentia Harbor, English cut out a sloop at, 88
Plains of Abraham, necessary to English to attain, 507
Wolfe's hazardous feat, 507, 508
the battle of, results in death of Wolfe and Montcalm, 508
described, *vide* note to 508–513
Plaisted, Elisha, marries Hannah Wheelright, 150
is kidnapped by the savages on his wedding-night, 152
writes his father in his captivity, 152, note
finally ransomed, 153, note
amount questioned, 153, note
Plaisted, John, mentioned, 151
Plaisted, Mrs. Samuel, routs Indians at Winnock's Neck, 443, note
Plaisted, Robert, mentioned, 151
Plausawa is killed by Peter Bowen, of Contoocook, 435, *vide* note
Pleasant Point, Indians take their captives to, 196, note
savages surprised by Moody and Harmon at, 196, note
St. Georges River, Henderson's garrison located at, 464, note
fort at, 471
Plymouth Company, builds two blockhouses on the Kennebec River, 448
also Fort Halifax, 449, *vide* note
its activities due to the prospects of peace, 450
votes to lay out two townships, 450
also to build a "defensible house" for the security of the settlers, 450

Plymouth Company, "defensible house" known as Fort Shirley, 451
land of, lay above Fort Richmond, 451, *vide* note
make conditions with Provincial government as to building Forts Halifax and Western, 452, note
claim the land on the Kennebec River as far as Norridgewock, 454, note
Plymouth Patent, New, 454, note
land claimed under, 454, note
Plymouth trading-house, at Cushnoc (1629), of stone, 453, note
and fortified, 453, note
Fort Western built on site of, 453, note
Pocumtuck, Indian name, 51
old Deerfield known as, 51
Point Levi occupied by English in siege of Quebec, 507
Poland, a Sokoki sachem, is killed by Stephen Manchester at New Marblehead, 486
his burial, 486, note
Pomeroy, a settler of Dresden, killed by the savages, 411
describes onset of the French under Dieskau, 461, note
Ponchartrain, comments upon the Chaillons expedition against Haverhill, 117, 118, *vide* note
his sincerity doubted, 118, *vide* note
Poontoosuck (Pittsfield) occupied by Williams, 299
Porpoise, Cape, fisher huts at, raided by the savages, 38
Sergeant Smith of fort at, shot by savages, 221
another shot near site of old meeting-house, 221
Indians ambush Lieutenant Trescott's party, 255
Portland, South, 38, note
ancient name Purpooduck, 38, note
Portneuf, at Fort Loyal, 15, note
Portsmouth, horse-troops quartered at, 45
Captain Summersby sent to, 45
under nightly patrol, 86
French privateers cause alarm, 86, *vide* note
strange discussion over Hilton's exploit in the neighborhood of Black Point, 99
Chaillons decides not to attack, 112
Peace Conference with Indians at, 153, *vide* note
mentioned, 154, 162, 202, note, 228
delegates from various tribes at, 154, note
pledge of, renewed, 181
Vaughan born at, 339, note

Portsmouth Bay, patrol established from, to Winter Harbor, 112
Portsmouth Jail, murderers of Sabatis and Plausawa in custody at, 436
are rescued by a mob of armed men, and escape trial, 436
Powder distributed to frontier towns, 305
Pownal, Fort, built 1759, 511, 514
Pownall, Governor, laid out lines of fort of that name, on the Penobscot River, 513, *vide* note
Capt. James Cargill executes an order of, 514
his instructions, 514
the story of his adventure, 514
Preble, Benjamin, of York, killed by savages, 131
Preble, Fort (South Portland), 38, note
Prescott, Captain, 76
Presqu' Isle (Erie), 424, 427, 428
Presumpscot River, a few settlers near mouth of, 308
country about, infested by savages, 398, 405
after raiding settlements along, Indians go across country to Paris, 444
settlers along (1753), 446, note
population between, and Saco, 462
how they lived, 462
maintenance of blockhouses along, 484, 485
Poland, the Sokoki sachem, claimed all the land along, 486
Price, Major, in Haverhill massacre, 113, 114, note
Prideaux, General, killed in siege of Niagara, 506
Sir William Johnson, his successor, carries out plans of, 506
Prince, Rev. Thomas, preaches a sermon in Boston meeting-house, 341
his invocation and its singular answer, 341
Prisoners, exchange of, at end of Shirley's War, 406
Pritchard, Capt. John, captures a small vessel of St. Castin's younger brother, 251, *vide* note
which is accompanied by some ill-treatment, 251, *vide* note
Proctor, Lieutenant, has a skirmish with the savages near the St. Georges garrison, 346
kills two Penobscot sachems, 346
and captures one, 346, *vide* note, also note on 355
Prout's Neck, site of one of the Black Point garrisons, 44
Provincial authorities send reënforcements to various points, 365
Provincial treasury pays Captain Lovewell one thousand pounds for ten scalps, 246

Purchas, Thomas, lived at New Meadows River, 25
house raided by savages, 25
Purington, a settler of that name, captured at New Meadows by the savages, 445, note
Puritan and Pilgrim, attitude of, toward the Indian, 291
characteristics of, 291
regarded the Indian as an Amalekite, 291
Purpooduck, raided by the savages, 38
Michael Webber's wife mutilated, 38, note
the place located, 38, note
a portion of, occupied by Fort Preble, 38, note
mentioned, 42
from eastward, toward Brunswick, settlers in constant peril from savages, 398
settlers at (1753), 446, note
Putnam, Seth, killed at Number-Four, 364
his scalp saved by Colonel Willard, 364
Pyncheon obtains the conveyance of Deerfield location from the Nipmucks, 50

Quaboag (Brookfield) mentioned, 76
Quampegan mentioned, 203, note
Quebec, young Moses Littlefield at, 34, note
expedition against Canada sails from Boston, 145
mentioned, 173, 175, 214
capture of, by English necessary to peace of New England settlements, 416
most commodious passage from Penobscot to, 452, note
English plan a campaign against, 505
apparently impregnable from point of occupation by, 507
capitulates five days after battle of Plains of Abraham, 508
Queen Anne's War (War of Austrian Succession), 7, 300
Quincy, Edmund, mentioned, 158, note
Quincy, John, 307, note

Ralé, Sebastian, 14, note
his virulent enmity to religious freedom, 15
dogmas taught by, at Norridgewock, 24
his labors among the Norridgewocks, 137
his settlement on the Kennebec, 173
exact date of its establishment uncertain, 173
contemporary of Bigot, 173

Ralé, Sebastian, and Thury at St. Famille, 173
for a description of Ralé's settlement, 173, note
the man described, 174
career as a Jesuit missionary, 174
his labors at Norridgewock, 174
known as Nanrantsouak, 174
his death ordained, 174
an unbroken wilderness his environment, 175
the paraphernalia of his faith, 175
summoned his people to chapel with a bell, 176, also note
his fling at the English at the time of Westbrook raid, 176, note
pins a letter to the chapel door, 176, note
upbraids the English for their poor work on the church, 176, note
mentioned, 178, 205, 233
his proficiency in the Abenake language, 178
compiled a dictionary of, 179
beloved by his people, 179
accompanies his people to the Georgetown Conference, 183
writes Shute a letter of inquiry as to land-titles, 183
which Shute declines to receive, 183
declares compact between Indians and English of Georgetown void, 184
Belknap's comments on, 184, note
his flag and its mystery, 184, note
his offices of devotion incendiary, 184, note
alarmed by interest of Norridgwocks in the English, 185
gave the Indians absolution before they went on the war-path, 185, note
results of, 185, 186
his account of the damages to the English on these raids, 185, note
at Georgetown, leaves a letter for Shute, 186, *vide* note
his legs broken by a fall, 189, note
regarded his escape as miraculous, 189, note
his village raided by the English under Westbrook, 190
which is deserted by himself and his people, 190
his personal belongings fall into the hands of the English, 190, *vide* note
described, 190, note
his chapel-bell found under the roots of an old tree a century later, 190, note
his papers implicate Vaudreuil, 190, note

Ralé, Sebastian, some papers in Massachusetts archives, 190, note
attempt to seize, impolitic, 191
aroused smouldering antagonisms, 191
a natural son of, supposed to have been killed by Benwick's party in the fight at Oyster River, 220
devotional book, muster-roll, 220
his scalp presented to the governor and council by Benwick, 220
his complicity with the French known to English, 228
the result of his papers being captured by Westbrook, 228, 229
in the pay of the French, 228
killed at the destruction of Norridgewock, 236, *vide* note
the story of his death, 236, note, 237, note
La Chasse's account of, 237, note, 238, note
his activity in the fight, 239, note
mentioned by Dummer to Vaudreuil, 247
Dummer's estimate of, 248, note
Vaudreuil's letter to, mentioned, 249
Vaudreuil's Jesuit agent at Norridgewock, 249
killing of, mentioned, 285
a source of hatred with the Indian for the English, 285
his acts may be extenuated, but will never be forgotten, 415
death of, mentioned, 439
resented by the Canibas in their hatred of the English, 439
Ralé settlement, destruction of, mentioned, 81
"Ralle, Mr.," mentioned by Governor Dummer in his letter to Vaudreuil, 214
Rand, an early settler of Rye, 203, note
Randall, a man of that name shot at Brunswick, 202
Ravell, son-in-law to Hertel, heads a force of Indians in the Connecticut Valley, 126
Rawlins, Aaron, lived at Lamphrey River, 199
himself and one child killed by the savages, 199
his wife and three children taken to Canada, 199
for the story of the Rawlins raid, *vide* note, 199, 200, 201
garrisons afraid to go to his assistance, 200, note
is killed by a random shot, 200, note
his daughter's head cut off, 200, note
his wife, a son, and another daughter carried to Canada, 201, note
daughter marries a Frenchman, 201, note
returns some time after for her share of her father's property, 201, note

Rawlins, Aaron, daughter goes back to Canada, 201, note
Rawlins, Ichabod, of Dover, shot by the savages, 103, *vide* note
Rawlins, Samuel, his house attacked, 200, note
after inmates had escaped to a place of safety, 200, note
the son of Aaron, taken to Canada, returns to charge his uncle Samuel with sequestering his mother's property, 200, note
Ray's Town, Forbes at, 502, note
Read, settler of Gorhamtown, surprised by the savages, 352
Read, Robert, shot by the savages at Kittery, 121
Reading, savages attack a house in, 94
butcher a woman and three children in, 94
captured children and plunder retaken, 94
Red Meadows, a man killed at, by the savages, 343, note
Rehoboth, Joseph Titus, of, killed at Wells, 127
Rendezvous Point, patrol established from, to Hampton, 86
Rhode Island, quota of, for invasion of Canada, 128
population of (1744), 300
inactive in expedition against Louisburg, 318, note
holds grudge against Massachusetts on account of treatment of Roger Williams by the Puritans, 318, note
forgets past differences and votes aid, but reconsiders, 319, note, 321, 323, note
Wanton's war-sloops disperse French flotilla from Annapolis, and capture twenty French prizes, 337
Rice, Adonijah, son of Thomas, of Lancaster, captured by the savages, 75, note
grew up in Canada, 75, note
Rice, Artemas, son of Moses, captured by Indians, 474
Rice, Asa, a grandson of Moses, captured by Indians, 474
Rice, Asher, son of Thomas, of Lancaster, captured by savages and taken to Canada, 75, note
afterward redeemed, 75, note
Rice, Moses, first settler at Charlemont, 474
is killed in his corn-field at work, with others, 474
his son Artemas and a grandson captured at the same time, 474
a settler, Phineas Arms, at work with Rice, is killed, 474
a boy named Titus escapes to Taylor's fort, 474
Rice, Silas, son of Edmund, captured by Indians, 75, note
mixed with the savages, 75, note
Rice, Thomas, settlers in his flax-field attacked by Indians, 75, note
some are killed, others captured, 75, note
his sons taken to Canada, 75, note

Rice, Thomas, "knocked on the head," 75, note
Rice, Timothy, son of Edmund, captured by savages, 75, note
mixed with the Indians, 75, note
married an Indian wife; lost his mother tongue; became the third of the six chiefs of the Caughnawagas, 75, note
was known as Oughtsorongoughton, 75, note
Richards, John, captured by the savages in the raid on Rochester, 368
is wounded, 368
Richards, Joseph, killed by the savages in the raid on Rochester, 368
Richardson, Corp. Thomas, of Woburn, of Capt. John Lovewell's company, at Pequawket, 275, note
Richardson, Joseph, killed near Hinsdale fort by savages, 406
Richardson, Timothy, of Woburn, of Capt. John Lovewell's company, at Pequawket, 275, note
Richmond, Fort, located head of Swan's Island, 180, also note
savages at, 207
Stratton killed by savages at, 207
Captain Harmon at, 209
fort and settlement at, 301
fort at, attacked by a large party of disaffected Indians, 411
Captain Goodwin eludes the Indians and comes in to the fort in the night, 411
whereupon the Indians retire in direction of Dresden, 411
a trading-house established at, 446
William Lithgow, truck-master, 446
located, 449
mentioned, 450
principal fort on Kennbec River, 452, note
Canibas go to, to demand rum, 453
make threats against, 453
in a dilapidated condition, 453
a new fort recommended by Governor Shirley, 453
Plymouth Company desire site of, moved up the river, 454
resulted in the building of Fort Western, 454
conference with Shirley's commissioners and Indians at, 454, note
contention of the Indians, 454, note
reply of Ongewasgone when shown deeds of, to the English, 455, note
Richmond Island, 37, note
Trelawney settlement and trading-house at, 37, note
John Winter, Trelawney's factor at, 37, note

Richmond Island, Captain Harris recaptures an English sloop from the French at, 85
mentioned, 179
Ricker, George, of Cocheco, killed by the Indians, 87, note
Ricker, Maturin, of Cocheco, killed by the Indians, 87, note
his son captured, 88, note
Ring, Joseph, tortured at the stake at Berwick, 64
Road for wheel-carriages built between Forts Halifax and Western, 454, 456
Roberts, Alexander, captured by the savages at Pennacook, 370, note
returns from his captivity, 370
Roberts, Moses, singular death of, 369, *vide* note
Robbins, Jonathan, a lieutenant in Lovewell's expedition to Pequawket, 260
wounded in the fight at Lovewell's Pond, 269, *vide* note
asks to have his gun loaded, 272
perished from wounds and exposure, 272, *vide* note
Robbins, Thomas, captured by the savages near Number-Four, 497
Robbins, William, killed by the savages at Bridgeman's fort, near Fort Dummer, 367
Robinson, Captain, shot off his horse at Wheelright's garrison, 152
Robinson, Captain (and Captain Elliot) recaptures seven English vessels, 209
Rocamoco (Jay Point, Canton), 23, note
scouting-expedition to, 23, note
Rochester, raided, 368
five men, attacked in a field, retreat to a deserted cabin, 368
kill four, wound and capture one, 368
capture a boy at another farm, 368
Indians again in, 368
kill Jonathan Hodgedon's wife, 404
Hodgedon escapes, 404
settlers warned by the gunshots, 404
Rockamagug, a company of soldiers sent to, 281
Rockwood, his conspiracy against William III. ferreted out, 10
Rogers, John, of Kittery, wounded by the Indians, 85
Rogers, Major, surprises the settlement of St. Francis and destroys it, 515, *vide* note
his instructions from General Amherst, 515
Rogers, Peter, of Newbury, goes with scouts to Rocamoco, 23, note
Rogers Rangers, made up partly by men from New Hampshire, 490
commanded by Robert Rogers, 490

Rogers, Robert, given command of Rogers Rangers, 490
Rolfe, Rev. Benjamin, killed in Haverhill massacre, 113, 114, note
also his wife and one child, 113
two children escape, 114
Rome, influence of, upon dissensions in America, 11
Rosua, Port (Rossignol), Fowle at, 82
Rouse, Captain, of Charlestown, falls into discredit, 89
had been sent to Port Royal with flag of truce, 89
suspected of contraband trading, 89
Rouse, Capt. John, a Boston privateersman, 304, note
engages in Louisburg expedition, 322
Rouville, Hertel de, commands the expedition against Deerfield, 54
his route toward that settlement described, 54
also his method of march, 54
camps in sight of the Deerfield village, 54
his retreat, after the destruction of Deerfield, a rout, 58, note
ambushes his pursuers, 58, note
his brother killed in assault on Stebbins garrison, 58, note
his return route, 59, note
number of his force, 60
hard pressed by his English pursuers, orders captives killed, 60
accompanies the Des Chaillons expedition against the Piscataqua frontier, 111
Rowe, Fort Pelham at, 299
Royal, Mont, 35, note
Royal, Port, English prizes taken into, by the French, 85
mentioned, 88
Church prevented from taking, 99
English invasion of, 101, *vide* note
by reason of the disagreement among the English officers, 101, note
Major Walton at, 102
project of English against, 130
English at, 130
name changed to Annapolis, 131
Royall's River, one of the boundaries of North Yarmouth settlement, 255
mentioned, 491
Rugg, David, shot by savages on river near Great Meadows, 361
his companion, Robert Baker, escapes, 361
his scalp taken into Crown Point on a pole as a trophy, 362
Rum, province arranges to supply Indians at Fort Richmond, 448

Rum, Canibas demand, of the garrison, 453
Rutland, raided by Gray Lock, 211, *vide* note
savages ambush the Stevens family at, 211, 212
kill the town minister, Joseph Willard, 212, 213, *vide* note
settlers organize a pursuit of Gray Lock, 211
who makes his escape to the woods, 212
Simon Davis and his son escape Gray Lock's ambush, 212, 213, note
Rye petitions to be set off from New Castle, 202, *vide* note, 203, note
Ryswick, Treaty of, 9
agreement as to Spanish Succession, 9
mentioned, 12, 24
meant nothing to the Norridgewocks, 16

Sabatis, at Canterbury, 435, *vide* note
is killed by a settler of Contoocook, 435, *vide* note
Sable, Cape, mentioned, 82
Sable, Cape, Indians, 227
turn sea-raiders, 227
infected by French seamen, 342
a large portion of this tribe swept out of existence by, 342
Sabrevois, Sieur de, leads a division of French and Indians against Fort Massachusetts, under Vaudreuil, 371
"Sacarappy," mentioned, 389, note
in need of necessaries of life, 390, note
Saccarappa, soldiers from, go to relief of New Marblehead, 486
take the trail of the savages to Great Meadows, 486
where they come across an Indian, whom they wound, 486
capture some guns and packs, 486
one of the guns belonged to Poland, the Sokoki sachem, 486
Sack of Fort Massachusetts, news of, reaches Boston, 338, note
Saco, mentioned, 127
delegates from, at Portsmouth, 154, note
mentioned, 308
two sons of Joseph Gordon ambushed on their way to Cole's mill in, 359
one killed, 359
the other captured and taken to Canada, 359
settlers take up the pursuit of the savages, who elude their pursuers by hiding in a swamp by the roadside, 359
left their dogs at home, 359
referred to, 462

Saco and Casco purposely avoided at opening of the war, 34
Saco Falls, fort at, 37
settlers killed and captured at, 37
the same day of attack on Wells, 37
Indians at, fall back into the wilderness as the English increase, 258
the Elliotts killed at, 393, note
Saco River, Colonel Walton kills five Indians at, 136
mentioned, 172, 180
its source, 257
finds its way to Conway, 258
the seat of the Pequawket village, 258
intervales begin at Fryeburg, 259
and end at foot of Mount Willard, 259
habitat of the Sokoki, 259
known on the upper waters of, as Pequawkets, 259
famous as a hunting and fishing stream, 259
Indians have their settlements on headwaters of, 300
Saddleback Mountain, overlooked Fort Massachusetts, 373
occupied by Vaudreuil, 373
Saddler, a Deerfield settler, escapes savages at "The Bars Fight," 376
Sagadahoc mentioned, 295
"St. Casteen," 186, note
St. Castin, Anselm de (St. Castin, the younger), at Georgetown, 186
order for his arrest, 187
captured by treachery, 187
thrown into Boston jail, 187
judicial hearing ordered, 188
disagreement on part of General Court as to procedure, 188
committee appointed to examine prisoner, 188, *vide* note
which report favorably to his discharge, 188
General Court non-concurs on report, 188
Vaudreuil demands release, 189, note
Shute ignores French governor's letter, 189, note
lieutenant in French army, 189, note
finally released, 189
length of his imprisonment, 189
favors peace, 250
encourages the Tarratines in desire for, 250
Pritchard captures a vessel belonging to a younger brother of, 251, *vide* note

St. Castin, Anselm de, Lauverjait's dislike for, 288
includes the brother, Joseph Dabadis, 288
Lauverjait authority for stories of his debaucheries, 288
founded in malice, 288
writes De Beauharnois, 288
St. Castin, Baron de, makes plans and estimates for the capture of Boston, 12
the story of his career, 13, note
of the Carignan Regiment, 13, note
takes up life among the Tarratines, 13, note
marries a daughter of Madockawando, 13, note
in trade at Pentagoët, 13, note
commands the fort at, as a lieutenant of Sieur de Grandfontaine, 13, note
had a trading-house at Port Royal, 13, note
notified to quit Penobscot by Dongan, 14, note
his trouble with Perrot, 14, note
Andros raids his house, 14, note
atrocities of Abenake charged to, 14, note
scored by Williamson, 15, note
leaves Acadia after death of Madockawando, 15, note
accepted by the French as a man of sound understanding, 15, note
Parkman's estimate of, considered, 16, note
subject of reckless misrepresentation, 16, note
his daughter captured by Colonel Church, 64
mentioned, 516
St. Castin, Joseph Dabadis de, *vide* Joseph Dabadis
St. Castins, The, pass from notice after Shirley's War, 288
St. Castin's War mentioned, 17
St. Famille, 112
Thury at, 173
St. Famille Mission, 208
St. Francis, Abenake from, at Georgetown, 185
mentioned, 490
St. Francis (Indians), 300
delegation of, attends Peace Conference at Falmouth, 409
Indians of, had been the terror of New England frontier, 515
their destruction ordered by General Amherst, 515
accomplished by Major Rogers and his Rangers, 515, *vide* note
St. Francis de Sales, Norridgewocks seek refuge from English at, 238
Indians migrated to, 259

St. Francis Mission, New Hampshire Indians migrate to, 136
St. Francis River and portages to the Connecticut made access to English settlements easy for the Indians coming from the St. Francis country, 473
St. François Indians, enter into peace treaty at Falmouth, 284
of the Mission of St. Francis, absorbed the Norridgewocks, 440, note
ravages upon settlers after Peace of 1749 charged to, 440
St. George, a considerable settlement, 301
Waldo interested in, 301
battle of, 476
St. George River, Colonel Burton caught in the ice on, and frozen to death, 480
St. Georges, Indians attack a sloop at, 192
later attack garrison at, 192
after twelve days' siege, Lauverjait accompanies the savages, 192
retire, 192
settlement at, destroyed, 192, note, 193, note
garrison at, invested for thirty days by savages, 214
persistently defended by Captain Canady, 214
relieved by Colonel Westbrook, 215
Peace Conference at, 276
Massachusetts and New Hampshire commissioners at, 276
Shirley meets Indians at, 299
Indians at, attack a woman, who escapes, 342
skirmish near garrison at, wherein two Penobscot sachems are killed and one is captured, 346, also note
mentioned, 347
Falmouth gets an alarm from Captain Bradbury that the savages were on a raid at, 354, *vide* note
Tarratines encamp in vicinity of fort at, 354, note
warned of, by Bradbury, then captain of the garrison, 354, note
a skirmish at, in which the savages are repulsed, 356
sachem comes to fort at, in interests of peace, 407
trading-house opened at, 408
a trading-house established at, 446
meeting at, when the old Dummer treaty was renewed, 450
line of forts extends from Salmon Falls to, 461
fort at, an object of irritation to the Indians, 478
Burton is truck-master at, 480
Captain Bradbury at, 490
Tarratines send several flags of truce into, 491

St. Georges, a ruse suspected by English, 491, 492
St. Georges Fort, built at Thomaston, 180
surrender of, demanded by Indians, 227
attempt to burn, 227
its garrison of fifteen men, 302
Indians attempt to mine, 402
but abandon project, 402
located, 464, note
erected by owners of Waldo Patent, 464, note
resisted all attempts at capture by French and Indians, 464, note
last attack on, 464, note
scouting-party at, 471
rumored forces of French and Indians sent against, 504
Pownall's precautions, 504
anticipates the hostiles by a few hours, 504
attacked by the savages, 504
assault abortive, 504
St. Georges River, a highway for eastern Indians, 300, note
blockhouses of Burton and Dunbar Henderson on, 464, note
located, 464, note
Benjamin Burton had a garrison at, 479
Burton was caught in the ice on (1762), and frozen to death, 480
mentioned, 504
English settlements extended to (1760), 516
St. Germaine, Madame Jean, 36, 37
St. John, attacked by Subercase and Assacumbuit, 83, *vide* 84, note
one hundred forty settlers captured outside the fort, 83
many butchered, 83
fort at, invested by the French and Indians, 83
attempt to starve the same into capitulation, 83
defended successfully, 84
compelling enemy to retire, 84
after cutting off seventy families, 84, note
St. John River mentioned, 154, note
St. Johns (Indians), 300
renew Dummer treaty (October, 1753), 446
St. Lawrence, Gulf of, 119
St. Lawrence River opened to English by capture of Louisburg, 505
St. Louis, 52
St. Peter, village of, Provincial troops in sight of, but remain undiscovered, 326, note
St. Pierre, French commander of Fort Le Bœuf, 428

St. Pierre, ignores demands of English to remove from Ohio Valley, 428
his answer conveyed to Governor Dinwiddie, 429
St. Regis, Chapel, and the bell taken from Deerfield, 55
Salmon Brook, 93, note
Salmon Falls, line of forts extending eastward from, 461
Sam, Captain, mentioned, 480
Sam, Colonel, a Penobscot sachem killed in a skirmish with Proctor's party of English, 346, and note, also note on 355
Sambo, negro servant of John W. Wheelright, relation of his adventure with the savages, 141, note, 142, note, 143, note, 149
Samoset recalled, 290
Samp, the settler's food, 391
Samp-mill, used by the settlers to grind their corn, 367
described, 367
Samuel, Captain (Simmo), a Tarratine sachem, 193, note
active in Queen Anne's War, 193, note
spokesman at Casco Conference, 1703, 193, note
told Dudley how far their thoughts were from war, 193, note
his fate obscure, 193, note
attacks the Tilton brothers at Damaris Cove, 193
Sandy Beach (New Castle), 202, note
Sandy Hill, Mary Goodenow killed and scalped by the savages near, 104, note
Sandy River mentioned, 174
Sanford, William, a Connecticut soldier, captured by Gray Lock in savage raid on Springfield, 150, note
Saratoga, mentioned, 296
avoided by Vaudreuil, 370
Sartwell, Obadiah, killed by savages at Number-Four, 406
Sauguaaram (Sorun) at treaty formation at Boston, 282, 283
Sault Ste. Marie, 426
Saunders, a son of the commander of the province sloop, captured, 345
but escapes from the savages, at Owl's Head, 346
takes a purse from an Indian's pack, hides it, to recover it after hostilities were over, 346
Saunders, in command of English fleet, anchors before Quebec, 507
Savage, Captain, his escape from the savages at Passamaquoddy Bay, 193, 194
Savoy, Duke of, last possibility under will of Charles II., 8
Sayre, Joseph, with his family, killed by the Indians, 30
peculiar circumstances of his butchery, 30

Sayre, Joseph, mentioned, 37
Sayward, Captain, his expedition, 209
finds wigwams of Sokoki deserted, 209
Scales, Matthew, waylaid by Indians at North Yarmouth, 255
a man of local importance, 255
Scales, William, killed by Indians at North Yarmouth, 255
a man of local importance, 255
Scalp, of supposed natural son of Ralé given by Abraham Benwick to governor and council, 220
bounty for same paid to Capt. Francis Matthews, 220
one taken by Lieutenant Bean sold to government for one hundred pounds, 226
Noah Ashley sells one for one hundred pounds, 242
Lovewell scalps an Indian, 243
sells ten to province for one thousand pounds, 246
Scalps, bounty offered for Indian, 47, note
the amount per scalp, 47, note
bounty on, raised to one hundred pounds, 201, *vide* note
Parson Smith mentions price of, offered by the province, 357
English offer increased bounty for, 463
Scarborough, Spurwink in, 37, note
garrison attacked, and savages repulsed, 38
garrison, Josiah Wallis escapes with his boy to, 42
invaded by the savages, 65
a rendezvous for the savages during Queen Anne's War, 154
voted one hundred pounds for defence, 305, note
Indians at Scottow's Hill, in, 388
kill Nathaniel Dresser, who prevents the surprise of Libby's garrison, 388, 389
Parson Smith mentions killing of Dresser by savages, 390, note
mentioned as the "Bloody Ground," 408
some twenty garrisons in, through Shirley's War, 408
those best known were Vaughn's and Larrabee's, 408
loss of life in, from Indians, estimated, 409
of which Black Point made up largest number, 409
Scarborough Marshes, Indians camp on, 289
Allan Dover attacked by savages on, 358
but makes his escape, 358
Schenectady, 15
Schuyler, Col. John, has a trading-house at Albany, 52
informed by the Mohawks of intended raid on Deerfield, 52
warns Deerfield, 52

Schuyler, Col. John, notifies Dudley of a force of French and Indians on the way to the Piscataqua River, 89
so informed by the Mohawks, 89
Schuyler, Col. Peter, again warns English of intended invasion of New England settlements, 111
his information obtained from the Mohawks, 111
Schuyler, John, meets Eunice Williams in Canada, 61, 62
fails in his errand to restore her to freedom, 63
Scitterygussett, 517
Scottow's Hill (Scarborough), savages at, 388
Scribner, Samuel, captured by the savages in the raid on Bakerstown, 456, note
was sold to the French, 456, note
Seabody Pond, in New Gloucester, two settlers captured by savages near, 462, note
Seavy, an early settler of Rye, 203, note
Sebago Lake (Lake of the Sokoki), 308
scouting-party at, 471
Sebasticook, blockhouse built at mouth of, 180
Sebasticook River, highway of Penobscots to the Androscoggins and Norridgewocks, 300, note
Fort Halifax located at junction of, and Kennebec River, 451, note
thirty-seven miles above Richmond, 451, note
three fourths of a mile from Taconett Falls, 451, note
from Penobscot, fifty miles, 451, note
from Norridgewock, thirty-one miles by water, 452, note
by land, twenty-two, 452, note
on the trail from Penobscot to Norridgewock, 452, note
Sessions, Court of, 104
Settlers, discouraged and impoverished, 48
superstitious, 52, 53
New Hampshire and Maine, a sturdy, courageous people, 73
reckless in their hardihood, 108
Vaudreuil unaware of their determination not to recede from their settlements, 120
always uncertain where the blow would next fall, 122
enjoy a season of quiet, 136
some garrisons still maintained at Wells, 139
went about armed, 139
carried their muskets into their fields, 139
their lands insufficient for their wants, 140, *vide* note

Settlers, liberty given to, to till the highway, 140, note
garrison life among those of frontier, 140
married and bore children, 140
had their social amusements of music and dancing, 140
those of Wells not Puritans, 140
over all a sense of insecurity, 140
their cabins from Blue Point to Spurwink, 156
open up the wilderness after the Peace of Portsmouth, 179, 180
attitude of, toward the savage, 181, 182
their only intercourse was at the truck-house, 181
number of, at Brunswick, 1717–1722, 191
first to suffer at beginning of Lovewell's War, 192
in a fever of unrest, 196
some consideration of conditions among, 196
appropriations for defence of, refused by General Court, 197
Sagadahoc settlers unprotected, 197
aroused to retaliate on the savages, 197
send petitions to the governor, 197
harassed by roving bands of savages, 226
losses inflicted by, on the Indians, 226, 227
destruction of Norridgewock improves situation for, 256
widely scattered on Maine and New Hampshire frontier, 300
easily approached by savages, 300
after Peace of Utrecht found their way to the old openings in the wilderness, 301
several new settlements of, east of Piscataqua River, 301
notably, St. George, Brunswick, Cape Small Point, Pemaquid, and Richmond, 301
their public garrisons blockhouses, 301
scattered through some fifteen or twenty towns, 301
absence of disquietude among, 301
their forts and blockhouses inadequately manned, 301
especially mentioned, 302
a not encouraging state of affairs, 302
safety of, due to decimated numbers of savages, 302
instructed to refrain from all acts likely to arouse hostility of savages, 302
prohibited from trafficking with Indians, 302
active population of many thousands scattered from Pemaquid to south and west beyond Connecticut Valley, 302
times grown softer, 303
border spirit among, mellowed, 303

Settlers, danger to, impending, 303
Indians in league against, 303
advent of the savages most dreaded by, 306
had pushed as far east as Waldoborough, 307
a German settlement on Penobscot Bay, 307
on Kennebec River one hundred fifty families, 307
mostly at Georgetown, 308
some at Pemaquid, 308
others at North Yarmouth, Brunswick, Narragansett No. 7 (Gorhamtown), New Marblehead (Windham), 308
a few had cabins along the Presumpscot River, 308
a small settlement at Stroudwater, 308
thrifty villages of, stretched from Black Point to the Piscataqua River, 308
had not widened along New Hampshire frontier, 308
had made a considerable advance up Connecticut Valley, 308
none in Vermont, 308
upper part of New Hampshire and the Maine wilderness inland from Sebago Lake unsettled, 308
maintain a trading-post at Cushnoc, 308
whose few cabins were protected by a fort, 308
at Falmouth, a flourishing and prosperous community, 308
no safety for, along Maine frontier, 344
trusted to their wits to protect them from savage assault, 344
stood guard while others wrought in the fields, 345
of Gorhamtown, 347
in jeopardy, 350–354
living of, described, 350
the labor of their hands the only thing between, and starvation, 350
three escape capture near Great Meadows, 361
a disastrous year (1746) along the frontier for the, 362, note
one shot at Colrain, 362, note
wife and daughter of, wounded, but escape, 362
savageries inflicted in Connecticut Valley, 364, note
used samp-mills to grind their corn, 367
described, 367
had to go long distances to reach a grist-mill, 367
some of Deerfield, attacked in Stebbins's meadow, 376, note
three of whom are killed, 376
of New Hampshire apply to Massachusetts for aid in defence of frontier, 379

Settlers, secrete their property and abandon their cabins to the torch of the savage, 379
several killed at Hinsdale, 387
some captured at Number-Four, 387
along frontier east of Piscataqua suffer, 388
maize their great staple and staff of living, 390
corn-meal served in some form at every repast, 391
labored together in the fields for protection, 391
attempt to surprise party of, near the Larrabee garrison, 391
grown gregarious, 396
houses of, became garrisons, 396
three gunshots or toots of the tin horn meant fire, or the approach of the savages, 396
hard put for food during Shirley's War, 402
corn thirty shillings the bushel, 402
blockhouses and garrisons smothered in deep snows, 402
fifteen to twenty towns with three hundred men for protection against the Indians, 402
Provincial authorities interested in, 402, 403
fields of, had been laid waste, 403
on the verge of starvation, 403
energies had been expended upon capture of Cape Breton, 403
garrisons of, to be reënforced, 403
harassed with the opening of spring (1748), 403
after Peace of Casco (1749), find way back to old clearings, 408
loss of life among, at hands of the savages, 409
quarrel between, and some Canibas at Wiscasset, 410
suggestive attitude of, toward the Indian after the peace, 410
characterized, 410
recover slowly from their disasters, 415
the summing up proves the recuperative capacity of, 416
influence of the Jesuits dreaded by, 426
exposed along the entire English frontier after evacuation of Fort Necessity, 431
release of Bowen and Morril from Portsmouth jail by a mob indicates temper of times, 437
renew peace with the Indians at Falmouth, 437
trouble brewing on the Ohio River, where the battle of the Youghiogany was being fought between Washington and De Villiers, 439
about Gorhamtown, at peace with the Indians when Thorn was captured, 442

Settlers, carried their guns into the fields, 442
usually posted a boy on a stump as a lookout, 442
wrought together in the clearings, 442
attack on, foiled by dog and a woman, 442, 443
on New Hampshire frontier, exposed, 456
at Bakers-town a woman is killed and several settlers are captured by savages, 456, *vide* note
number of, between Presumpscot River and Saco, in Maine, 462
lived in forts mostly, 462
those who lived in their cabins suffered most, 462
in Frankfort and Gray, killed and captured, 462
also in New Gloucester, 462, note
Indians carry on their depredations undiscovered, 469, 470
their tillage-lands hardly more than scant openings, 470
surrounded by heavily wooded country, 470
lived mostly in blockhouses, which could be destroyed only by fire, 472
are backwoodsmen, 472
overcome only by a ruse, 472
along New Hampshire frontier, offered an easy prey to the savages from the St. Francis country, 473
began to keep dogs that were trained as Indian-hunters, 479
their sagacity often the salvation of, 479
along Maine frontier, warned by Joseph Knight, who made his escape from the savages at the Androscoggin River, 481
blockhouse built at Gloucester for protection of, 484
many of, killed and captured along frontier, 487
outlying farms of, abandoned by, 487
no safety for, away from forts or blockhouses, 487
crops suffer from pests and the scanty harvest causes anxiety, 488
outlook discouraging, 488
threatened with a drouth, 495
observe a day of fasting at Falmouth, 495
are filled with apprehension of the rumored coming of the French, 495
at Number-Four pastured their cattle in the woods, 500
their patches of tillage-lands and their cabins surrounded by forests, 501
depredations of the savage upon, confined to, through 1758, 501
which were committed always at the unexpected moment, 501
the sword of Damocles always over their heads, 501

Settlers, easternmost of, in 1675, 515
had penetrated to St. Georges River before 1760, 516
character of, 517
Seven Years' War mentioned, 169
Shapleigh, a Mr., killed at Kittery, 87, 88
his son captured, 88
barbarity of savages toward, 88
Shattuck's fort located at Hinsdale, 379
four families remain at, 379
attacked by the savages, who are unsuccessful, 379
Shattucks, John, with his son, killed in Groton, 124, note
Sheepscot, mentioned, 179
two men killed in a corn-field, and another wounded, 347
raided by the Indians, 355
five men ambushed, 355, *vide* 356, note
savages capture five men while working in a field, 463
three are taken to Canada, 463
two make their escape from their captors, 463
Sheepscot River, a highway of the Penobscots, 300, note
Sheldon, Ensign John, his garrison captured in De Rouville's attack on Deerfield, 56
his wife killed, 56
his son escapes through a chamber window, 56
wife of the latter captured, and taken to Canada, 56
efforts of, to obtain release of captives taken at Deerfield, 80, note
accompanied home from Montreal by Courtemanche, 80
and a small scout of soldiers, 80
Sheldon, Hannah, captured at Deerfield, and taken to Canada, 56
is the daughter-in-law of Ensign John Sheldon redeemed from captivity, 80, *vide* note
Sheldon's garrison, ineffectual attempt to surprise, 362, note
Sheriff of York County proposed to send with posse to arrest Ralé at Norridgewock, 187
Shirley, Fort, *alias* Frankfort, built by the Plymouth Company, 449
described, 449, note, 453, note
two men surprised and captured by the savages near, 469
scouting-party at, 471
Shirley, Fort, at Frankfort, now Dresden, mentioned, 447
Shirley, Fort, at Heath, 299
Shirley, William, Governor of Massachusetts, 298
John Adams's estimate of, 298, note

Shirley, William, Governor of Massachusetts, impressed that war with France was imminent, 299
his preparation for a war with the eastern Indians, 299
meets the Indians at St. Georges, 299
fortifies western Massachusetts, 299
writes Pepperrell to urge the settlers to avoid arousing Indians, 303
also Storer at Wells, 303
asks the General Court for immediate means of defence, 303
his advice followed, after some delay, 304
sends a message to Mascarene to hold Annapolis until reënforced, 304, note
Capt. Edward Tyng despatched to relief of, 304, note
further active measures, 305
credited with idea of the capture of Louisburg, 317
offered to General Court under pledge of secrecy, 317, *vide* note
becomes a matter of open discussion, 317
defeated in General Court at first, wins finally by a single vote, 317
authorized to enlist expedition, 318
notifies United Colonies, 318, *vide* note
demands of, on General Court create controversy, 320, *vide* 321, note
finally prevail, 320
scheme does not show extraordinary knowledge of military affairs, 324
his letter to Governor Wentworth urging sending of troops, 324, 325
receives the keys of Louisburg from Pepperrell, 334, note
honored by the Crown, 339, note
is confirmed in his governorship, 339, note
mentioned, 385, note
selects the site for Fort Halifax, 451
makes a personal tour to Sebasticook, 451, note
sends a message to the House of Representatives, 452, note
recommends the building of a new fort at Richmond, 453
commissioners meet Indians at Fort Richmond, 454, note
doubts rumors of French plans against Fort Halifax, 456
recommends the care of the fort at Number-Four to New Hampshire, 458, note
his plans against Niagara miscarry, 466
his personal ambitions in the way, 466

Shirley's War, Governor, 295
mentioned, 236, note
Shoals, Isles of, French privateers at, 86
Shute, Samuel, succeeds Dudley as Governor of Massachusetts, 182
attends a council at Arrowsic, 182
the council held at the Georgetown settlement, 182
meets the delegates from the Abenake tribes, 182
a description of the proceedings at, 182
Wiwurna, orator of the Norridgewocks, spoke for the Indians, 182
Shute's lack of etiquette, 182, *vide* note, 183
unschooled in the simple diplomacy of the woods, 182, and note
refuses to receive Ralé's letter, 183
offends the Indians, 183
accepts their apology, 184
and a belt of wampum, 184
makes many promises, 184
followed by a correspondence with Ralé, 184
kept none of his promises to the Indians, 185
new conference called at Georgetown, 185
ignores Vaudreuil's letter demanding release of St. Castin, 189, note
receives from settlers petition for protection, 197
advised a proclamation of war, 197
war proclaimed, 197
at odds with General Court, 197
prepares for a vigorous campaign against Indians, 197
assumes command of colonial forces, 197
an old campaigner under Marlborough, 197
appoints subordinate officers, 197
one of whom was Colonel Walton, 197
which proves an unpopular selection, 198
latter's recall demanded by Legislature, 198
contention increases, 198
leaves Boston abruptly for London, 198
his retirement throws burden of controversy on Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, 198
more feared in London than in Boston, 198
Simmo, the spokesman for the savages at the Casco Conference, 19, *vide* note
his fate uncertain, 20, note
Simon, a Jesuit priest, at taking of Fort William Henry, 15, note

Simonton's Cove (Purpooduck), 38, note
Simpson, house of one, raided by the savages, 144
the babe brained, 144
the mother scalped, 144
the nurse escapes, 144
Simpson, Elizabeth, killed by the Indians at Nottingham, 387
Simsbury, settler at, killed by Indians, 134
Singletary, Richard, killed by savages, 104, note
Six Nations, treaty entered into with, at Philadelphia, 299
Skene Mountain skirted by Vaudreuil, 370
Skillen makes a stand against the savages at Westcott's field, 357, note
Skillin, Captain, goes after Indians with Milk's scouting-party, 481
Skinner, James, 306
Skipmuck, Benjamin Wright, of, captured by savages, 150, note
Small Point, Cape, English forts extended from Cushnoc to, 439
Small Point Harbor, fort and settlement at, 301
ancient Augusta, 449
Colonel Noble's fort located at, 449, 450, note
Smallpox, Vaughan dies of, 339, note
Smead, John, his wife taken captive at Fort Massachusetts, 378
is taken ill on the march to Canada, 378
is delivered of a daughter, who is baptized "Captivity" by Chaplain Norton, 378
Smith, Captain, joined by a company from New Casco, with Knight as a guide, go after the latter's captors, 482
they were unsuccessful, 482
Smith, Capt. John, landed at Monhegan, 227, note
Smith, Daniel, of Ossipee, 260
his farm the site of Lovewell's fort, 260, note
the location described, 260, note
Smith, Parson Thomas, mentioned, 344
Smith, Samuel, shot at Arundel, 216
Smith, Sergeant, killed by savages at Vaughn's Island, 221
connected with fort at Cape Porpoise, 221
Smith, Thomas, captured by the savages, 219
Smith's Brook, savages ambush three Brunswick men at, 483
Snow, a settler of that name killed by the Indians "on the back of North Yarmouth," 463
Snow, an English hunter of that name killed by the savages in the woods near Paris, Me., 444
but not before he had killed one of his assailants, 444

Snow *Prince of Orange* once commanded by Captain Tyng, 322, *vide* note
Soaper, Alexander, a shallop of, burned at Damaris Cove, 281
taken prisoner by the savages, 281
Sokoki, on the Saco River, mentioned, 172
at the Georgetown Conference, 182
Sokoki, Great Lake of (Sebago), 348
Sokoki (Sebago) Lake, 308
Somerset Point (Brunswick), savages accustomed to hold their deliberations at, 194
came here after the Brunswick massacre, 194
surprised by Major Moody and Colonel Harmon here, and destroyed, 195, *vide* 196, note
Sorrel, 11, note
South Carolina, a company from, joins Washington's regiment, 429
Spafford, Asa, captured by the Indians near Number-Four, 497
Spafford, John, captured by savages at Number-Four, 362
comes into Boston under flag of truce, 363, *vide* note
Spanish Succession, War of, 7
came to Philip v. by Popish connivance, 11
Spear, a Mrs., escapes the savages at the Georgetown garrison, 345
but loses her milk-pail, 345
Spencer, John, killed, 150
Spithead, Admiral Walker's ship blown up at, 147
Spoon and crucifix, Ralé's, 190, note
Springfield, raided by Gray Lock, 150, note
three settlers captured, 150, note
last raid of Queen Anne's War in Deerfield Valley, 150, note
Spruce Creek (Kittery), Indians kill five settlers at, 84
capture as many more, 85
kill Mrs. Hoel, 85
Enoch Hutchins loses wife and child, 85
John Rogers wounded at, 85
and James Toby shot, 85
savages capture a shallop, 85
raided, 148
one boy killed; another captured, 148
Spurwink, attacked by the Indians, 37
its location, 37, note
Cleeve and Tucker identified with, 37, note
the settlement of the Jordans, 37, note
included in the Trelawney Grant, 37, note

Spurwink, Ambrose Boaden ferryman at, 37, note
a part of Scarborough, 37, note
savages at, 226
Solomon Jordan shot at, 226
engagement between Lieutenant Bean, of the garrison, and the Indians, 226
an Indian sachem killed, 226
the scalp sent to Boston, 226
for which government paid one hundred pounds, 226
Spurwink River, 37, note
Squatter sovereignty, 181
Stake, The, Joseph Ring tortured at, 64
Standish, Fort Hill on road to, 349
Standish (Pearsontown), fort built at and garrisoned, 461, 462
Stark, courage of, suggested, 502
Stark, John (afterward General), released from captivity for the cost of an Indian pony, 214, note
captured by the Indians at Baker's River, 434
adopted into the tribe, 434
afterward became known as General Stark, 434
Stark, John, as one of the Rogers Rangers, 490
episode at Bakers-town Stream mentioned, 490
a useful scout, 490
Stark, William, escapes from the Indians at Baker's River, 434
one of the Rogers Rangers, 490
Stebbins, a Deerfield settler, killed in attack of De Rouville on that place, 57, note
a neighbor to John Williams, 57, note
occupants of his house during the massacre, 57, note
defence of same, 57, note
Stebbins, Zebulon, wounded by the savages in an ambush at Hinsdale, 489
Stebbins's Meadow, in Deerfield, the scene of "The Bars Fight," 376, note
Stephens, Captain, goes hunting for Indians, 48
is unsuccessful, 48
Stevens, Capt. Phineas, goes to Number-Four, 380
was of Sudbury, 380
his defence of garrison at, 380, 385
his letter to Colonel Williams, 382, note, 385, note
his diary mentioned, 386, note
again appointed to command of Number-Four, 405

Stevens, Capt. Phineas, sends out a scouting-party under Capt. Elezar Melvin, 405
who is surprised by a party of savages, 405
his son captured and taken to Canada, 406
Stevens, Deacon Joseph, and his four sons ambushed at Rutland, 211, *vide* note
two of the boys, Samuel and Joseph, killed, 212
Phineas and Isaac, the other two, captured, 212
the father escapes, 212
vide note on 213
Stevens, Ephraim, captured by Indians at Kingston, 218
Stevens, Isaac, captured by Indians, 212, 213, note
Stevens, Phineas, of Rutland, captured with his brother, by Gray Lock's savages, 212, 213, note
witnessed the killing of Rev. Joseph Willard, 213
in Cape Breton War, 213
defended Charlestown when attacked by M. Debeline, 214, note
commissioned by Massachusetts to obtain redemption of captives, 214, note
secured release of John Stark for an Indian pony, 214, note
one of his children taken captive, 214, note
goes to the relief of Captain Paine, who is ambushed by the savages, 366
the savages driven off, after a brisk engagement, 366
English loss, one captured and five killed, 366
for their names, *vide* 366, note
goes with Captain Brown in search of their horses, and is ambushed, 366
makes a plucky fight and drives the savages into a swamp, 366
captures plunder from, which is sold for forty pounds, 366
Stevens, Samuel, his son captured by the savages, 124
Stevens-town, a man and a woman killed by the savages at, 457
settlements in that region broken up by, 457
Stickney, William, captured by Indians in raid on Pennacook, 370, note
drowned as he was returning from his captivity, 370, note
Stoddard, Colonel, mentioned, 457, note
Stone, a Mr., mangled and scalped by the Indians at Berwick, 203, note
Stone fort built by Convers, at Saco Falls, mentioned, 37
Storer, Mary, captured and taken to Canada, 35
became Madame St. Germaine, 36

Storer, Mary, not interested in her father's will, 36, note
lived in Canada until her death, 36, 37
Storer's garrison, Harding, with wife and child, arrives safely at, 32
William Larrabee escapes to, 33
distress at, 35
the capture of Mary Storer, 35
settlers seek shelter of, 39
Stover (Storer), Dependence, killed, 150
Stratton, man of that name mortally wounded at Richmond, 207
Strong, John, of Wright's scouting-party, wounded, 126
Strong-box, Ralé's, 190, *vide* note
Stroudwater, a settlement at, 308
Frost has a garrison at, 308
mentioned, 384, 389, note
Stroudwater (Parish), settlers at (1753), 446, note
Stuart, the exiled, 10
and Maintenon, plots of, 10
Stuckley, Captain, commands the Deptford man-of-war in the expedition against Port Royal, 101, note
Subercase, M. de, at St. John, 83
with Assacumbuit, attempts reduction of the fort, 83
but fails, 84, *vide* note
at Port Royal, 101
has a skirmish with March's forces, 101
his horse shot under him, 102
Governor of Acadia, 118
writes a glowing description of the attack on Haverhill, 118
which is endorsed by M. de Chevry, 118, *vide* note
approved by Ponchartrain, 118, *vide* note
mentioned, 504
Sudbury, savages appear in, 95
Sugar Loaf, mentioned, 258, note
Sullivan, Governor, mentioned, 203, note
Summersby, Captain, sent to Portsmouth with a troop of horse, 45
Suncook, savages raid, 387
kill one man here, 388
Sunderland writes the colonies, 130
Superb, Commodore Warren's ship, at siege of Louisburg, 326
Supernatural instance related by Rev. Solomon Stoddard, 53
Superstitions of the settlers, 52, 53
belief in omens, 52, 53
Swan's Island, Fort Richmond at head of, 180, note

Swan's Island, mentioned, 181
Indians raid, kill cattle, and terrify the settlers, 412
Swanzey, *vide* Lower Ashuelot
Sweat, Joseph, killed by the savages going from Falmouth toward North Yarmouth, 343
Swedes in the English settlements, 426

"Taconnet" (Ticonic), 233, note
Tailor, Major, with his troop, pursues the Indians after attack on Westfield, 76
supported by Captains Prescott, Buckley, and Willard, 76
drives the savages toward Groton, 76
with some loss to his party, 76
Talcott, Peter, gives information of the Pequawkets, 246, note
a "pilot" in the Wheelright expedition, 246, note
Tarratines, mentioned, 137
at Georgetown Conference, 182
favor peace, with approval of St. Castin, 250
send news of their conclusion to fort at St. Georges, 250
in the absence of Lauverjait, who was in Canada, 250
Heath burns a settlement of, at the Falls of Penobscot, 251
effect of this exploit on peace project, 251
war declared against Indians east of Piscataqua, 463
not involved in the depredations of 1754, 464
efforts of English to propitiate, 464
raid of Cargill on, 465
sachems in Boston, 465
presents given by English to placate, 465
quiescent, maintain a safe neutrality, 471
could be easily attacked and their villages destroyed, 471
English settlements near, protected by blockhouses and forts, 471
as anxious for peace as the English, 472
the tie of race allied them naturally to the hostile savages, 472
French emissaries among, 472
delay coming to definite agreement with English, 472
who were urgent for an active alliance, 472
war declared against, by the English, 472
their power broken, 473
great war leaders dead, 473
nothing to gain, but everything to lose, 473
extermination of, desired by the English, 473
troops sent against, 473

Tarratines, send several flags of truce into St. Georges, 491
which suggest to the English a possible ruse, 491
come into St. Georges to trade, but are warned to look out for the English scouts, 492
camp at the "Gig" (Thomaston), 492
their sentinel goes to sleep at his post, 492, 493
discovered by a party of scouts under Kellock, 492
are attacked and put to flight, 493
Tartar, the colony sloop of Rhode Island, 319, note
Tash, Major, stationed at Number-Four with two hundred fifty men, 498
Taylor, Capt. John, killed in fight at Pascommuck Fort, 72, note
Taylor, Edward, shot in his field, at Lamphrey River, 64
Taylor, John, 96, note
Taylor, Joseph, captured by savages near Seabody Pond, in New Gloucester, 462, note
became an expert in Indian tongue, 462, note
and instructor of, at Dartmouth College, 462, note
Taylor plantation mentioned, 199, note
Taylor's Fort, Artemas Rice escapes to, 473
Taylor's Hill (Lyman), Richard Walker's wife killed by the savages at, 397
Tebbits, Nathan, shot by savages at Dover, 96
Telamarque abandons Ticonderoga to the English, 505
Teuconic (Ticonic), 438, note
Thaxter (Dudley and Atkinson), returns from Montreal, 274
meets Commissioners on Indian Affairs for New York Province, 274
makes report of the French and the Five Nations, 275
meets the deputation from the Five Nations, 275
aid of the latter asked in obtaining a peace compact with the Abenake, 275
influence of Lovewell's invasion of the Pequawket country upon, 275
lays the foundation for an equitable negotiation, 275
Thaxter, Colonel, reënforces Georgetown, 186
Thaxter, Samuel (and Col. William Dudley), envoy to New France, 249
demands release of English prisoners in Canada, 250
the results of, 250
had a conference with Abenake, 250
with the result that the war would go on, 250

Thomaston, Fort St. Georges built at, to protect Waldo Patent, 180
scouting-party at, 471
Thompson, a Mrs., captured while milking near the garrison gate at Georgetown, 345
Thompson, Myles, killed by the Indians at Love's Brook, 203, note
Thorn, Bartholomew, of Gorhamtown, captured by the savages, 441
taken to Canada, 441
escapes, to find his way home through the wilderness, 441
McLellan comments on, 441
had no compunctions about killing an Indian, 442
Thornton's Ferry, 242, note
Thury, 14, note
at taking of Fort William Henry, 15, note
instigates Indians at Pentagoët against English heretic, 24
his labors among the Tarratines, 137
acts of, may be extenuated by civilization, but will never be forgotten, 415
Ticonderoga, Fort, Vaudreuil, with his French and Indians, at, 370
who march toward Hoosac, 370
abandoned to the English, 505
and destroyed, 506
Ticonic Falls, a canoe-ride of a day from Norridgewock, 137
mentioned, 172
Titus, a boy of that name captured by the savages at Claremont, 473
Titus, Joseph, a soldier of Rehoboth killed at Wells, 127
Toby, a friendly Indian, with Lovewell on his expedition to Pequawket, 260
falls ill and returns to Dunstable, 260
Toby, James, shot at Kittery by the Indians, 85
Topsham, 191
men in siege of Louisburg, 236, note
a man killed and a boy scalped at, by the savages, 342
Jordan's men at, 390, note, 398, note
raid on, by savages, 402, note
Topsham Fort, Captain Lithgow and eight men waylaid by savages in neighborhood of, 491
a skirmish ensues, 491
results of, 491, *vide* 496
Towns that made up New England frontier (1745), 301
Townshend and Leverett ambassadors to Five Nations from Massachusetts, 77

Toxus, 16
dead, once a great war-leader of the Tarratines, 473
Tracy, Marquis de, 13, note
Trading-houses on the Kennebec, 446
"Trask, Samuell," 253, note
Treaty, Dummer, with the Indians renewed (October, 1753), 446, 447, *vide* note
the speech of Louis, the Penobscot sachem, quoted, 447, note
the tribes present, 447, note
Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, provisions of, referred to, 338, note
Treaty of Breda, 14, note
Treaty of Utrecht, 295
Treaty, Peace, agreed upon at Boston, 283
included Cape Sable, St. John, Penobscot Indians, 283
to be ratified at Falmouth on Casco Bay, 283
which conference Governor Dummer attends with his retinue, 283
confirmed at Falmouth by the Wawenocks, Penobscots, Aregunteno cks, St. Francis, and Canada tribes, 284
other conferences mentioned, 284, note
at Falmouth, renewed (1749), 437
while the same was in progress the battle of Fort Necessity was being fought, 439
these treaties preserved in State archives at Boston, 439, note
Tregoweth, his cabin at St. Georges surrounded by savages, 193
no mention of his fate, 193
Trelawney Grant, 37, note
once the domain of Rev. Robert Jordan, 37, note
Trescot captured at Brunswick and sent to Canada, 192
Trescott, Lieutenant, and his party waylaid by savages at Cape Porpoise, 255
wounded, but escapes with his men, 255
"Triconnick," 232, note
Tucker mentioned by Plaisted as a fellow captive, 153, note
Tucker, Richard, ejected by Winter from Spurwink, 37, note
settled at Cascoe, 37, note
Tucker, Sergeant, captured by the savages at Wheelright's garrison, after the Plaisted wedding, 151
Tufts, John, of Frankfort, surprised and captured by savages, 469
Turner, Captain, in Haverhill massacre, 113, 114, note
Twenty-five mile Pond and Stream, in Unity, a highway of the Penobscots, 300, note

Twitchell, Daniel, shot by the savages at Walpole, 473, *vide* note
Tyng, Capt. Edward, leads an expedition against the Indians, 48
his success, 48
is paid two hundred pounds for scalps, 48
engages in a skirmish with Indians at Lancaster, 75
relieves Mascarene at Annapolis, 304, note
commands Louisburg expedition, 322, *vide* note
Tyng, Colonel, ordered to recruit a party to go to relief of Lovewell's party, 273
calls upon the coward Hassell to show the way to Lovewell's Pond, 273
one of the men who had been in the fight volunteers his services, 273
finds the bodies of Lovewell, Robbins, and others, 273
who are buried where they fell, 273
finds Paugus and two other Indians in one grave, 274
carves the names of the twelve dead of the English on the adjacent tree-trunks, 274
Tyng, Major, surprised and mortally wounded at Chelmsford, 134
Tyngsborough, 92, note
Tyng's garrison, Colonel, 92, note

United Colonies, successful direction of affairs depended upon Shirley and Wentworth, 299
population of, of New England, 299, 300
major portion of the people beyond reach of the savages, 300
Maine and New Hampshire frontiers exposed, 300
to the savages of the headwaters of Saco and Androscoggin Rivers, 300
also the eastern Indians, 300
notified by Shirley of plan to invest Louisburg, 318
action of New York, 318
inaction of Rhode Island, 318, note
action of Pennsylvania, 319
also of New Hampshire, 319
also of Connecticut, 319
burden falls on Massachusetts, 319, 320, *vide* note
favored with good crops, 337
Upper Ashuelot, *vide* Ashuelot, Upper
Usher, Robert, of Dunstable, of Capt. John Lovewell's company, at Pequawket, 275, note
Utrecht, Treaty of, mentioned, 151, 153, 162

Utrecht, Treaty of, humiliating to Louis XIV., 167
hardly more than a truce, 169
left boundaries of New France and English colonies unsettled, 169
elements of disturbance mentioned, 169, 170
confirms to Acadians religious freedom, 171
mentioned, 226, 295, 298, 300

Vallière, Sieur de la, leads a sortie at Flat Point Cove, 331
Valterie, Sieur de la, accompanies Vaudreuil against Fort Massachusetts, 371
commands a division, 371
Vauban suggests the lines of fortification of Louisburg, 295, 296
Vaudreuil, M. de, Governor of Canada, 45, 115, note, 116
plans invasion of Piscataqua frontier, 110
his reception of Dudley's letter, 119
a treaty of neutrality proposed, 119
conditions imposed a *casus belli*, 119
requires English to relinquish fishing-rights in Acadian waters and Gulf of St. Lawrence, 119
his controversy with Dudley a show of French diplomacy, 120
had to learn temper of the English settler, 120
knew of the ravages of his allies, 120
believed English weary of his persecutions, 120
but was unaware of their determination to hold their settlements, 120
advised the home government of Dudley's proposal, 120
which was favorably inclined, 120
sends Abenake from Becancour and St. Francis to Norridgewock, 185
demands release of St. Castin by English, 189, note
controversy with Dummer, 247
entertains schemes of revenge for destruction of Norridgewock, 247
engages the Indians to revenge death of Ralé, 247
latter's instigations brought home to, 247
informed by Dummer of his letter to Ralé being in the possession of former, 247
the controversy aroused, 247
advice to the English, 248
offers himself as a mediator with Norridgewocks, 248
English envoys sent to, 249

Vaudreuil, M. de, Governor of Canada, affability of, toward English envoys, 249
prevaricates and is answered by his own letter to Ralé, 249
denies furnishing the Abenake with arms, 249, note
his letters to France mentioned, 249, note
crafty insinuations of, 250
mentioned as Governor of Canada, 278, note
the date of his death, 278, note
some personal characteristics of, 278, note
emissaries of, stir the Indians to raid the English, 286
with Lauverjait, 286
Vaudreuil, Rigaud de, leads a force of French and Indians against Fort Frederic, 370
march of, toward East Hoosac, 370
make the Hoosac River, 370
divides his forces, 370, 371
the advance on Fort Massachusetts, 371
plan for a surprise of, fails, 371
captures the place, 375
protects Hawks, the chaplain, and the women and children, 375
allows savages to massacre the soldiers, 375
Parkman comments on, 375, also note
sends a detachment to cut off return of party sent to Deerfield, 375
his ambush successful, 375
of the return journey to Canada, 376, 377
mentioned in Norton's letter nailed to post of fort, 377, note
Norton comments on humanity of, 378
which is weakened by the destruction that marked the way of his return to Canada, 378
a description of the ravages of his Indians, 378
his own estimate of the damages inflicted upon the settlers, 378
Vaughn, William, may have given Judge Auchmuty idea of capturing Louisburg, 317, and note, also 318, note
classified by Belknap, 327
led first column of the Provincials within sight of the city, 327
burns French warehouses, 327
enters the city with thirteen men, 327
account of, 327, note
beset by the French, who attempt to retake battery, but fail, 328
holds his ground until support is sent, 328
goes to England to seek reward for services, 339, note

Vaughn, William, dies of smallpox, 339, note
his disappointments, 339, note
Vaughn's garrison, in Scarborough, one of best known, 408
eleven families housed in, at one time, 408
Venango Fort, 424
located at Franklin, at junction of French Creek and Allegheny River, 424
Verchères, one of Chaillons' officers, killed at Haverhill, 116, *vide* note
Versailles, Court at, delighted at death of William III., 10, *vide* note
Vetch, Captain, goes to Montreal with Courtemanche and Hill, 81
goes to Vaudreuil with a letter from Dudley, 119
affords ground for suspicion of carrying on a clandestine traffic, 120
was improving his opportunity for surveying Quebec, 120
and its approach by the St. Lawrence, 120
of Scotch descent, 127
engaged in contraband trade, 127
his knowledge of Canada, 127
turned to good account before British Ministry, 128
coöperates with Nicholson as representative to home government in movement against Canada, 128
given a colonel's commission, 128
sends messengers to the colonial governors with instructions from the queen, 129
sets out with Nicholson for New York, 129
his command mentioned, 130
reports on French inhabitants of Acadia, 297
accepted as a rule of action by the successive Governors of Acadia, 297
Vigilant, a French sixty-four gun ship, captured by the English at Louisburg, 329
Villeau, D', 15, note
Villiers, M. de, with a force of French and Indians, compels Washington to evacuate Fort Necessity, 430, 431
his losses in this fight, 431
Virginia, interested in French occupation of Ohio Valley, 424
encroachments of French on territory of, 428
Dinwiddie Governor of, 428
raises a regiment for operation on Ohio River, 429
Voltaire comments on the skirmish between Washington and Jumonville, 432

Wadacanaquin signs Portsmouth peace treaty, 158, note
Wadley, Captain, at Wells, 48
Wadsworth, Captain, at Wells, 45
Wahwa, joins Paugus at the Saco River, 265
with the latter, takes up Lovewell's trail, 265
Wainwright, Captain, killed in Haverhill massacre, 114, note
Wainwright, Colonel, at Port Royal, 101, note
Waldo, Captain, brings rumors of the French into Falmouth, 495
Waldo, General, invites the Scotch-Irish to settle at St. George, 301
Waldo Patent, protected by Fort St. Georges, 180
erected fort at St. Georges, 464, note
Waldo, Samuel, second in command in Louisburg expedition, 323
Waldoborough (Broadbay settlement), raided by the Indians, 413
a German settler and his wife killed and scalped, 413
vide Broadbay
Waldron, Major, mentioned, 95
Walker, the adventure of one, with a French privateer, 88
Walker, Admiral, commands expedition against Quebec, 145
his fleet partly wrecked, 146
his ship blown up at Spithead, 147
his incompetency, 147
Walker, Richard, escapes capture by the savages at Great Falls, 396, 397
his wife is captured, 396
and killed and scalped by the savages on Taylor's Hill, 397
Wallis, an early settler of Rye, 203, note
Wallis, Josiah, remarkable escape of, with his boy, from the savages, 42
Walpole, Daniel Twitchell, shot at by the savages, 474
also a settler by name of Flint, 474
a sharp skirmish here between the savages and a scouting-party under Colonel Bellows, 474
Walton, Colonel, goes Indian-hunting, 135
captures a band of savages, 135
a squaw betrays some of her people, 136
leads an expedition toward Ossipee and Winnipiseogee, 143
found some deserted wigwams, 143
a subordinate of Shute, 197
bone of contention between latter and General Court, 198
his recall demanded by latter, 198
Shute's demurrer, 198
dismissed by Dummer, 199

Walton, Colonel, with his colleague, Major Moody, 199
and Captain Harmon relieve fort at Arrowsic, 206, 208
Walton, Major, at Port Royal, 102
Walton, Shad, mentioned, 158, note
Walton, Shadrach, of New Hampshire Council, attends peace formation at Boston, 280, note
attends ratification of, at Falmouth, 280, note
Wampanoags, sale of, into slavery, by colonies, 414
Wampum, 184
Wanton, Governor, dilatoriness of, redeemed in aiding enterprise against Louisburg, 337
the Rhode Island war-sloops disperse the French flotilla from Annapolis, 337
Wanton, Major (and Captain Paine), captures a French sloop, and thirty-seven men, 88
Wanungonet, at Casco Fort with Moxus and Assacumbuit, 39
treachery of, toward Major March at Casco Fort, 40
War between France and England mentioned, 31
Waranokes, an Indian tribe, 210
Gray Lock sachem of, 210
kill two men at Northfield, 210
Warraeensitt signs Portsmouth peace treaty, 158, note
Warren, Commodore, at Canso, commands English squadron, 323
jealous for prestige of receiving surrender of Louisburg, 329, 334
discusses matters with Pepperrell, who has summoned Duchambon to surrender, 329, 330, *vide* note
activities of, considered, 330
sends Maisonforte into Louisburg, 330
with Captain Macdonald, 331
who reports Louisburg as impregnable to assault, 331
with Pepperrell, rejects Duchambon's offer to surrender, 332
the final stipulation, 332
his trick to defraud Pepperrell of his honors, 333, note
which he assumes to wear, 334
his speech to the New England men at Louisburg, 335, note
given a baronetcy for his services at Louisburg, 339
promoted to an admiral, 339
Washington, George, accompanies Christopher Gist to Fort Le Bœuf, 427, 428
adjutant-general of the Virginia militia, 428
serves notice on St. Pierre to remove from Ohio Valley, 428
his journey through the wilderness, 429

Washington, George, placed in command of the Virginia regiment which was to operate in Ohio Valley, 429
at Great Meadows, 430
engages in a skirmish with the French near, 430
his victory over M. de Jumonville's force complete, 430
builds Fort Necessity, 430
is attacked by M. de Villiers, with a large force of French and Indians, 431
continues an obstinate defence for nine days, 431
is obliged to capitulate, and evacuates Fort Necessity, 431, *vide* note
his first and last capitulation, 432
his first appearance as a maker of history, 432, note
Watanummon (Pigwacket sachem), 21, note
Waterbury, Indians raid, and kill three settlers, 134
Waterford, Penn., Fort Le Bœuf at, 424
Watkins, Captain, adventure of, at Canso, 210
killed in his cabin, 210
Watkins, Capt. Andrew, ransoms the widow of Ebenezer Hall captured at Matinicus Island, 494
the price of her liberty, 494
Watson, Eliphalet, a brother-in-law of Edmund Phinney, 399
aids Phinney in his escape from the Indians at Gorhamtown, 399
walks into Falmouth with Hugh McLellan and Phinney, 399
Wawa, a Saco sachem, 218
in the party that ambushed Captain Felt, 218
within reach of his pursuers, 218
mentioned, 393, note
attempts a night surprise of Larrabee's garrison, *vide* note on 391, 392, 393
Wawah (Wahwa), a lieutenant of Paugus, 289
Wawenocks enter into peace treaty with English at Falmouth, 285
Weare, Nathaniel, builds sawmill at North Yarmouth, 254
Weare, Peter, of New Hampshire house, attends ratification of peace treaty at Falmouth, 280, note
Webb, a son of a settler of that name, captured by the savages of Windham, 441, note
Webb, General, orders Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe to Number-Four with the New Hampshire troops, 496, *vide* 497, note
left undisturbed by the French at Fort Edward, 498
Webber, wife of Michael, barbarously mutilated by savages at Purpooduck, 38, note, 39, note

Webber, John, joins in the pursuit of the slayers of Captain Felt, 217
Webber, Samuel, shot near York settlement, 148
Wedgewood, John, of Exeter, captured by the Indians, 133
Weir's garrison at North Yarmouth aroused to defence by the shooting of Philip Greeley, 344
Wells, object of destructive raid by French and Indians, 29
attack the Wells house, 30
also that of Joseph Sayer, 30
Stephen Harding of, 30
kept an "ordinary," 30
to be overrun by the Kennebec and Penobscot Indians, 32
in the raid of August, 1703, 36, note
attack on part of, plan for the destruction of the English, 37
strengthened by a force of troops under Captain Wadsworth, 45
Wadley sent to, 48
abundantly supplied with garrisons, 48
mostly located along the King's Highway, 48
capable of vigorous defence, 48
and ample for those who sought refuge in them, 48
Indians scour, 65
bears the brunt of Indian savagery, 66
two men killed and one captured at, 67
Wadley's troopers useless, 67
Lewis Allen at, 70
a spy from Governor of Nova Scotia, 70
ostensibly agent for exchange of prisoners, 70
suspected and arrested, 70
a letter of instructions found on his person, 70
its purport, 70
Allen escapes, 71
Mrs. Littlefield and four others captured, 104
savages butcher all but one, 104
a man escapes, 104
a party of fishermen lost while offshore, 108
Josiah Littlefield captured, 109
the escape of Joseph Winn, 109
Littlefield brought to Wells by the savages, 109, 110, note
he was afterward shot by them, 110, note
two soldiers captured at, 127
one of whom was killed, 127
still tenanted by English garrisons, 139
settlers of, not Puritans, 140

Wells, highway in, of little use while Queen Anne's War continued, 140, note
used for tillage purposes, 140, note
savages in, 141
kill two men planting corn, 142
Lieutenant Littlefield killed at, 148, *vide* note
the village raided, 148
two settlers captured and carried away, 148
wedding at John Wheelright's garrison, 150
the garrison surrounded by savages, 150, 151
who kidnap the bridegroom, Elisha Plaisted, 152
Indians at, 202
two men shot on trail from, to York, 202
Wheelright expedition for Pequawket sets out from, 245, note
mentioned, 246, note
peace pervades the frontier of, 286
Indian villages at, 289
Wahwa makes home in, 289
seems to have escaped the ravages of the savages until 1747, 359
Mrs. Walker (Richard) captured by savages at, 396
her husband escapes capture, 396, 397
at Taylor's Hill (Lyman), she refused to go farther with her captors, 397
she was killed there, and scalped, 397
Wells, Captain (and Willard), rescues Black Point garrison, 46
Wells, Capt. Thomas, chases the savages in Connecticut Valley, 224
ambushed near Deerfield, 225, *vide* note
Indians driven into the swamp, 226
Wells garrison, in Dunstable, savages designed to attack, 90, note
a man named Cummings wounded at, 90, note
his wife shot, 90, note
savages surprised the soldiers feasting, 90, note
a trumpeter shot, 91, note
savages driven off, 91, note
located, 93, note
Wells, John, ambushed by savages at "Green river farms," 282, note
Wells, Jonathan, garrison, crowded with refugees from massacre at Deerfield, 58, note
Hatfield, Hadley, and Northampton settlers meet there, 58, note
Wells, with fifty men, pursues De Rouville, 58, note
who are ambushed, 58, note
nine of the Wells party killed, 58, note

Wells, Judge, 144
Wells, Thomas, his family butchered by Indians, 30
he escapes, 30
mentioned, 37
Wenamouit, writes Governor Dummer, 284
at Falmouth, as chief sachem of Penobscots, signs treaty with English, 283, 284
adds his totems to the Peace of Casco, 285
Wendell, Jacob, lieutenant-colonel of Boston regiment, 306, note
Wentworth, Benning, Governor of New Hampshire, 298
Wentworth, John, killed in the raid of the savages on Rochester, 368
Werburn, a man of that name captured by savages near Maquoit, 404, note
Westbrook, Colonel, his expedition against Norridgewock mentioned, 176, note
found Ralé's letter on the chapel door, 176, note
expedition of, fitted out against Norridgewock, 187, 189
at Norridgewock, 189
Ralé escapes, 189, note
captures his strong-box, 190, *vide* note
destroys the deserted Indian village, 190
takes Ralé's personal belongings, 190, *vide* note
including the Abenake dictionary, 190
present custodian of, 190
chapel bell taken by one of his soldiers, 191
his expedition into Penobscot country, 207
destroys Passadumkeag fort, 208
found it deserted, 208
burns Indian chapel and settlement, 208
returns to the Sagadahoc, 209
relieves Captain Canady at St. Georges garrison, 215
expedition of, its results, 228
in connection with Ralé, 228
mentioned, 234
leads an expedition into the Penobscot country, 243, *vide* note
its unimportance, 243
expedition to Passadumkeag mentioned, 251
built a mill at Presumpscot Lower Falls, 483, note
adventure of Cloutman at, 483, note
Indians burn the mill, 483, note
Westcoat's field (at Long Creek), Stroudwater, two soldiers killed at, by savages, 357, *vide* note

Westcoat's field (at Long Creek), Stroudwater, twenty-five soldiers driven by seven savages at, 357, note
savages take the scalps and clothes of their victims, 357, note
Western (and Fort Halifax), mentioned, 180, note
Western, Fort, at Cushnoc, 448
described, 449, note
activity at building of, 452, note
material for, prepared under the guns of Fort Shirley, 453, note
and when ready rafted up the river under an armed guard, 453, note
erected on site of original Plymouth trading-house of 1629, 453, note
garrisoned by Captain Lithgow, 453, note
road for wheel-carriages built between, and Fort Halifax, 454, 456
described by Lithgow, 456
garrisoned with men and stores, 464
Wheeler captured between, and Fort Halifax, 469
Westfield, Indians ambush some settlers, but are driven off, 241, 242
Noah Ashley kills an Indian, 242
sells the scalps of the savages for one hundred pounds, 242
a singular incident noted by Penhallow, 242
Wheeler, a settler of that name captured near Fort Halifax, 469
Wheeler, John, killed at Oyster River, 87
his four sons escape, 87
Wheelright, Capt. John, of Wells, his farm at eastern end of town, 140, note
highway ran by the same, 140, note
Wheelright, Capt. Samuel, ordered by Governor Dudley to attach Stephen Harding as guide to Pequawket expedition, 31, 245, note
expedition of, 245, note
inspired by information from Peter Talcott, who had escaped from the savages, 245, note
his force numbered fifty men, 245, note
relates his disappointment in his *Journal*, 245, note
suggestive of rank cowardice, 246, note
Wheelright, Col. John, 36, note
his daughter Esther captured by the savages, 36, note
makes provision for her in his will, 36, note
his story of the raid on the Durrell house at Arundel, 285, 286

Wheelright, Esther, captured by the Indians, 36, note
writes her father, 36, note
no record of her claiming her interest in her father's estate, 36, note
Wheelright garrison, soldiers from, ambushed and killed while after cattle with Nicholas Cole, 69, 70
Wheelright, Hannah, marries Elisha Plaisted, 150
story of the kidnapping of her husband after the wedding, 150–152
Wheelright, John, of Wells, a typical frontier settler, 27
an expert in Indian guile, 27
warns Dudley, 27, note
his judgment sustained, 27
asks leave to build a garrison, 28, *vide* note
that the government send a relay of soldiers, 28
Dudley dilatory, 28
is allowed to build a fortification, 28
his letter, 28, 29
wedding at his garrison, 150
a great occasion, 150
and many guests, 150
savages surround the garrison, 151
sortie of the English, 151
a shot in the dark, 151
companies of Captains Harmon and Lane stationed at, 152
the time of the assault on the garrison, 152
Whidden, James, house of, attacked, 412
the singular escape of Whidden and his wife, 412, 413
White, John, captured while haying at Brookfield, 134, note
escaped, but was wounded to death, 134, note
White Mountains, 31
Captain Sayward's expedition toward, 209
Darby Field first explorer of, 257, note
followed by Thomas Gorges, same year, 257, note
also John Josselyn, who wrote the earliest description of, 257, note
quoted in part, 257, note
scenery suggested, 257
the source of the Saco River, 257
White River Valley, 54
Whiting, Major, pursues the assailants of Pascommuck Fort, with a troop of horse, 72

Whiting, Major, goes as far as Ossipee Pond, 74
after the remnants of "Monsieur Boocour's" war-party, 74
Whiting, Samuel, of Dunstable, one of Lovewell's men, 264
at Pequawket, 275, note
Whitney, a settler of that name captured by the savages at New Meadows, 445, note
Wiburd, Richard, of New Hampshire Council, attends ratification of peace treaty at Falmouth, 280, note
Wiggin (the widow), originally Martha Weeks, 132, note
second wife of Colonel Hilton, 132, note
Wigwams found by Colonel Walton, 143
Wigwams of Norridgewock, 175, 233, 234
description of, 209
Indians deserted at Westbrook's approach, 209
burning of, at Passadumkeag, 209
found by Captain Sayward, 209, *vide* 289, 290
Willard, Captain (and Wells), rescues Black Point garrison, 46
mentioned, 76
relieves the settlers at Cape Neddock, 148
sent to Wells, 152
Willard, Capt. Simon, of Salem, 364, note
Willard, Colonel, convoys the settlers to Hinsdale mill to get their corn ground, 367
discovers and routs a party of savages in ambush, 367
Willard, Josiah, mentioned, 158, note
Willard, Lieut. Moses, killed by the savages at Number-Four, and his son wounded, 488
Willard, Major, a prominent citizen of Concord, 364, note
later, colonel, stationed at Number-Four, 364
one of the first settlers of Winchester, 364, note
of Fort Dummer, 364, note
at Winchester, Captain Alexander, wounds a Frenchman, 387
Willard, Miriam, a sister of James Johnson's wife, 458
captured with the Johnsons by the savages at Number-Four, 458
shipped to England under cartel, and gets back to Boston, 459
Willard, Mount, 259
Willard, Mr., of Rutland, mentioned by Dummer in his letter to Vaudreuil, 248, note
Willard, Rev. Joseph, town minister of Rutland, 212, and note
attacked by Gray Lock's Indians on Cheney Hill, 212
and killed after a brave fight, in which he wounded one of his assailants, 213

Willard, Rev. Joseph, mentioned by Governor Dummer in a letter to Vaudreuil, 214
compared with "Mr. Ralle," 214
William and Mary, Fort, at New Castle, controversy over maintenance of, 85
Dudley ordered to repair same by Queen Anne, 85
dispute continues, 85
fort finally repaired by New Hampshire, 85
William, Castle, armament for, 307, note
John Larrabee in command of, 307, note
John Brock gunner at, 307, note
siege train for Louisburg taken from, 322, note
William Henry, Fort, D'Iberville, Simon, and Thury at, 15, note
Goffe's men posted at, 497, *vide* note
some of whom were butchered in the massacre that followed Munroe's surrender, 497
William III., shrewdest diplomat of his time, 8
crowned by a coalition, 8
fully aware of French duplicity, 9
not done with France, 10
escapes all the plots of his enemies, 10
thrown from his horse, 10
his death, 10
his memory reviled by his enemies, 10, note
succeeded by Anne of Denmark, 11
Williams, Col. William, rebuilds Fort Massachusetts, 377, note
is nearly surprised by the savages, 377, note
opens the fight and the savages draw off, 377, note
mentioned as receiving a letter from Stevens regarding latter's defence of Number-Four, 383, note, 385, note
Williams, Esther, redeemed from her Canadian captivity, 80
oldest daughter of Rev. John Williams, 80
Williams, Eunice, a daughter of Rev. John Williams, 60
taken captive at Deerfield massacre, 60
taken to Canada, 60, 61
separated from her father, 61
accepts Jesuit faith, 62
marries an Indian, 62
Schuyler describes his meeting with her, 62
had been rebaptized as Margaret, 62
Williams, Rev. John, the resident minister at Deerfield, 51
warns settlers of their danger from Indians, 51

Williams, Rev. John, requests the government for a relay of soldiers, 51
describes condition of defences, 52, note
settlers of Deerfield, warned by Colonel Schuyler, incredulous, 52
his house burned in attack on Deerfield, 57, note
one of the first to be assaulted, 59
gives number of settlers killed, 60
also those captured, 60
among whom were himself, his wife, and daughter, 60
his wife tomahawked at Green River, 60
writes of M. Beaucour's boasts, 74
his relation of the arts of the Jesuits, 78, 79
their efforts to win him to Catholicism, 78
his boy became a Catholic, 79
after much rough discipline, 79
his oldest daughter, Esther, redeemed, 80
Williams, Roger, Rhode Island remembers treatment of, by Puritans, 318, note
Williams, Sergeant Thomas, sent from Fort Massachusetts to Deerfield for supplies, 372
Wilson, Ann, wife of Colonel Hilton, 132, note
Wilson, Thomas, killed, 34
his family escape, 34
Winchester (Bow), a Frenchman wounded by Willard and Alexander near, 387
closing event in New Hamsphire, for 1747, 387
raided, 489, note
Josiah Foster and entire family of four captured by savages, 489
Windham (New Marblehead), 401, and note
vide New Marblehead
Winn, Joseph, ambushed with Littlefield in Wells, 109
makes his escape, 109
Winnenimmit, an Indian sagamore, writes a letter in French to the English regarding a truce, 276, note
Winnepesauke, Lake, the rendezvous of French expedition against Piscataqua frontier, 111
Winnepiseogee, Colonel Walton leads an expedition toward, 143
Winnipiseogee, Lake, savages invaded New Hampshire settlements by way of, 200
distance from Cocheco Falls, 200
on cross-country trail from Norridgewock to Pequawket, 200

Winnipiseogee, Lake, English propose building fort at, 201
men set to work on a military road to, 201
project abandoned, 201
patrol of the country established, 201
Lovewell's expedition to northward of, 243
Lovewell at, 260
Winnock's Neck (Scarboro), 155
Charles Pine's adventure at, 156–159
successful ruse of Mrs. Samuel Plaisted at, 443, note
Winooski River, 54
Winship, a settler of that name wounded by the Indians at New Marblehead, 485
is taken back to the fort, 486
Winslow, Captain, his party ambushed and destroyed at Green Island, 221, 222
owing to sense of over-security, 222
mentioned, 226
Winslow, Edward, colonel of Boston regiment, 306, note
Winslow, Edward, of Plymouth, a party to the Kennebec Purchase, 448
Winslow, Gen. John, reclaims Nova Scotia to the English, 466
executes the order to complete the exile of the Acadians, 468, note, 469, note
Winslow, Samuel, ambushed at Kingston, 131, note
Winslow Stream, a fort projected on, 448
Winter Harbor, fort at, surrenders to the Indians, 38
one hundred fifty canoes of savages at, 106
the battle of the English shallops, 106, 107
the savages driven off, 107
coast from, to Portsmouth Bay patrolled, 112
mentioned, 127
French and Indians at, 134
capture Pendleton Fletcher, 135
and one other settler, 135
appeared later in larger force, 135
killing three settlers and capturing six, 135
skinned one victim, 135
made girdles out of the gruesome trophy, 135
savages at, capture Corporal Ayers, 140
go on to the garrison with flag of truce, 140
with professions of a desire for peace, 140
Winter, John, Trelawney's factor at Richmond Island, 37, note

Date Due

JUL 13 1971			
DEC 3 1971			
DEC 8 1971			
NOV 26 1976			
DEC 15 1985			

bdy CAT. NO. 23 233 PRINTED IN U.S.A.

E 82 .S98 v.3
Sylvester, Herbert Milton
Indian wars of New England.
010101 000
0 1163 0218017 3
TRENT UNIVERSITY

E82 .S98 v. 3
Sylvester, Herbert Milton
Indian wars of New England.
JUL 13 1971
80181

80181